

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

AH 51DI L

Church Text Books

Harvard Depository
Brittle Book

Book of Common Prayer

J. H. MAUDE

764.64
MAUDE

764.64
Maude

Harvard Divinity School



ANDOVER-HARVARD THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

MDCCCCX

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

FROM THE BEQUEST OF

MRS. LOUISA J. HALL,

Widow of Edward Brooks Hall, D.D.,
Divinity School, Class of 1824

Oxford Church Text Books

The History of the Book of Common Prayer

BY

THE REV. J. H. MAUDE, M.A.

RECTOR OF HILGAY

FORMERLY FELLOW AND DEAN OF HERTFORD COLLEGE, OXFORD

FOURTH EDITION

NEW YORK

EDWIN S. GORHAM

37 EAST 28TH STREET

1909

ANDOVER-HARVARD
THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
DEC 23 1914
HARVARD
DIVINITY SCHOOL
H42.96

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	The Book of Common Prayer,	1
II.	The Liturgy,	15
III.	The Daily Office,	52
IV.	The Occasional Offices,	81
V.	The Ordinal,	111
VI.	The Scottish Liturgy,	121

ADDITIONAL NOTES

Note A.	Extracts from Pliny and Justin Martyr,	126
„ B.	The Sarum Canon of the Mass,	127
„ C.	The Doctrine of the Eucharist,	129
„ D.	Books recommended for further Study,	131
INDEX,		133

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

CHAPTER I

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

The Book of Common Prayer.—To English churchmen of the present day it appears a most natural arrangement that all the public services of the Church should be included in a single book. The addition of a Bible supplies them with everything that forms part of the authorised worship, and the only unauthorised supplement in general use, a hymn book, is often bound up with the other two within the compass of a tiny volume. It was, however, only the invention of printing that rendered such compression possible, and this is the only branch of the Church that has effected it. In the Churches of the West during the Middle Ages, a great number of separate books were in use; but before the first English Prayer Book was put out in 1549, a process of combination had reduced the most necessary books to five, viz. the **Missal** (properly Missale Plenarium), which contained all that was necessary for the Mass; the **Breviary**, which contained the daily offices now compressed into the English Matins and Evensong; the **Manual**, a collection of occasional offices for the use of a parish priest; the **Pontifical**, which contained those services in which a bishop had to officiate; and the **Processional**, containing the Litanies.

The **Missal** was formed from a combination of several separate books. The Sacramentary contained the prayers of the Mass, that is, the Canon, or prayer of Consecration, which was invariable, and also the collects, secrets, prefaces, and post-communions. The Lectionary (also called Epistolary, Apostolus, or Comes) contained the Epistles, and the Evangeliarium the Gospels. The Gradale contained the Graduals, or psalms sung between the Epistle and Gospel, and often other sung parts of the service. The **Troper** contained the Tropes, verses sung with the Introit, and also the Sequences, hymns sung after the Gradual.

The **Breviary** was commonly called in England the Portiforium, probably because it was originally portable. Earlier separate books were the Psalter, the Antiphonar, which comprised not only antiphons, but also responds, hymns, capitals, etc., which again were sometimes in separate books, the Legenda, which contained all the passages read at Matins, these being again sometimes distributed among several books, and the Ordinal or Pica de Sarum. This last book, called the Pie because the initial letters were written in red, and so presented a 'pied' appearance, gave the rules for finding the proper office for the day, as affected by the movable feasts. The complete Breviary was arranged in four parts. First there was the Kalendar, with rules for finding Easter; secondly, the Psalter and Common of Saints: the Psalter containing the psalms with the antiphons, canticles, hymns, etc., used at ordinary times: the Common of Saints containing common forms for Apostles, Confessors, etc.; thirdly, the Temporal, in which there were the variable parts, such as antiphons, responds, etc., for Sundays and week-days, and the lessons for Matins; and fourthly, the Proper of Saints, which gave the variable parts for all Saints' Days.

The **Manual** contained the offices for Baptism, Matrimony, the Churching of Women, the Visitation of the Sick, Extreme Unction, Burial, and a number of Benedictions. The Confirmation office was also included, although this properly belonged to the Pontifical.

The **Pontifical** had services for Ordination, Confirmation, Coronation, the Dedication of Churches, the Profession of Monks, etc., and many Benedictions.

Changes under Henry VIII.—All the services contained in the books which have been mentioned were still in use, with very slight changes, at the end of the reign of **Henry VIII.** The king was exceedingly cautious in introducing changes which affected the religious faith and practices of the people. In repudiating the authority of the pope he had on the whole the sympathy of the nation; in destroying the monasteries he was aided by the jealousy of the secular clergy and the greed of his

courtiers, but he had no sympathy with Lutheranism or Zwinglianism, and he either did not wish or did not venture to tamper to any great extent with the religion of daily life. Still some steps were taken which shew that conservative and cautious reforms of the service books were in contemplation, and particularly that the use of the English language, the elimination of abuses, and the application of the test of antiquity were intended. Already in 1535 the name of the pope, and in 1538 that of S. Thomas of Canterbury, were erased from the service books. Coverdale's English translation of the Bible was allowed to be circulated in 1536, and the Great Bible was authorised by the king in 1538, and ordered to be placed in the churches. Manuals of Christian doctrine, known as the Bishops' Book and the King's Book, were authorised in 1537 and 1543. S. Thomas's shrine was destroyed in 1538 and the superstitious use of images and lights forbidden. In 1542 Convocation made a step towards uniformity by prescribing the Sarum Hours for the whole province of Canterbury. In the following year, 1543, it ordered lessons from the English Bible to be read at Matins and Vespers, and in the same Convocation the archbishop, Cranmer, declared that the king would have all books purged of the bishop of Rome's name, superstitious legends expunged, and a service made out of Scripture and 'authentic doctors.' A committee was to be appointed to do the work, but probably Convocation was unwilling to act, for nothing came of this; and Cranmer probably went on by himself, for two schemes of daily offices have been discovered drawn up by him, which shew the process by which the Sarum offices were condensed into the Matins and Evensong of 1549. The only English service, however, that was brought into use in Henry's reign was the **Litany**, which was translated by Cranmer from the Sarum 'Processions,' with omissions and additions, and ordered by the king to be used in 1544. It has remained almost unaltered to the present day.

The Reign of Edward VI.—The accession of **Edward VI.** opened the floodgates of change. The government fell entirely into the hands of unprincipled men, who cared

nothing for religion themselves, but had grown rich upon the plunder of the Church, and considered it their best policy to encourage the extreme Protestant party as the best way of securing their ill-gotten gains. The party of moderate reform, to which the best of the bishops belonged, were driven into opposition by the violence of the extremists, and were almost deprived of influence. Before the end of the reign they were mostly in prison. The reform of the services fell principally into the hands of Cranmer. He possessed some notable qualifications for the task. He was pious and learned, and possessed the faculty of adapting and translating ancient devotional language with exceptional felicity. But his weakness of character made him throughout the whole of his public life the tool of natures stronger than his own, and he continually played the part of advocate to measures of which his better reason and conscience disapproved. However much we may deplore many of the steps that were taken during this reign, it is still a matter for profound thankfulness, when all the circumstances are considered, that the result was such as it was.

Changes under Edward VI.—On Edward's accession a book of Homilies was published and various injunctions issued by the Council, the first of a series which restricted to some extent the use of the old services, forbade many ancient ceremonies, and set on foot the work of destruction of all that was beautiful in the churches, a work which continued throughout the reign, and which was only too completely carried out. In the first session of Parliament, which met November 4, 1547, a bill 'for the Sacrament of the Altar' was passed. This had two parts, one forbidding the insults to the Sacrament which were now common, and the other ordering the communion of the people in both kinds. About this time a number of questions about the Eucharist were addressed to the bishops, and their replies are extant. One of the questions was whether the Mass should be in English. In March 1548 the Council issued an '**Order of Communion**' in English to be used on Easter Day. This Order, derived mainly from Lutheran sources, consisted of an

Exhortation, Confession, Absolution, the Comfortable Words, the Prayer of Humble Access, and the Thanksgiving, which still remain, with slight alterations, in the English Communion Service. It was to be interpolated in the Latin Mass immediately before the communion of the people. Nothing is really known about the authorship of this, though it has been assumed by later historians to have been the work of a committee of bishops and divines which is supposed to have drawn up the Prayer Book of 1549. The existence of some such committee seems to be proved by a passage in the king's diary, and by a letter written by Cranmer to Mary in 1555, in which he says that a good number of learned men of both parties assembled at Windsor, and agreed that the service should be in English. The list of six bishops and six divines which is given in modern histories first appears a hundred years later in Fuller's *Church History*, and the source of his information cannot be certainly ascertained. At all events, it seems clear that there was a meeting at Windsor towards the end of September 1548, but how much was then done towards drawing up the Prayer Book is quite uncertain. Probably the work of translation and adaptation had already been substantially completed. Various incidental notices show that English services had already been used. As early as April 1547 Compline was sung in English in the king's chapel. In September the Council ordered the Epistle and Gospel to be read in English. When Parliament met on November 4, the Gloria, Creed, and Agnus were sung in English at Westminster. In May 1548 a contemporary letter states that 'Matins and Evensong' were sung in English at S. Paul's, and Mass before the king at Westminster in English. On September 4, 1548, Somerset wrote to the vice-chancellor at Cambridge, to order him to use the Mass, Matins, and Evensong sung in the king's chapel.

The Prayer Book of 1549.—From these facts, and from the schemes known to have been drawn up by Cranmer before this time, it would seem probable that little was left for the committee to do. In October 1548 the book appears to have been submitted to the bishops. Some

objections were raised, but all signed it except Day of Chichester. In December the book was introduced into the House of Lords, and a debate of several days took place on the subject of the Eucharist. An account of this debate—the first full report of a debate in Parliament—is still extant, and is full of interest. The bill enforcing the use of the book passed the Lords on January 15, ten bishops voting for it and eight against. It passed the Commons before January 22. The royal assent was given on March 14. It may be noted, with reference to the interpretation of the Ornaments rubric, that the second year of Edward VI. ended on January 28, but that the book was not to come into use until the following Whitsunday, June 9, 1549.

Sanction of Convocation.—The question arises whether this book had been sanctioned by Convocation. The records of Convocation were burnt in 1666, but there are several contemporary letters from the king and Council which state that the book did receive the sanction of the clergy. These statements were made, no doubt, when unexpected opposition to the new order had arisen, and under these circumstances the Council would have had no prejudices in favour of telling the truth, but it is a strong point that one of the letters is to Bonner, who must have known the facts. Still the language used is too vague and inaccurate to count for much. On the other side, it is urged that Heylyn, who was clerk to Convocation, and who had carefully examined the records, discusses the question whether the consent of Convocation was necessary, and appears to assume that it was not given. To this may be added the silence of the Act of Uniformity and other contemporary documents where the mention of the approval of Convocation, if it had been given, would have been much to the point. On the whole, therefore, this matter remains doubtful.

The new order was to come into use on Whitsunday, June 9. On the whole it did not meet with much resistance. There was a rising in Devonshire, which was put down with great cruelty; but, for the most part, even those who were deeply attached to the old order acquiesced in the change. In order to render a return

to the old services less easy, the Council, on December 25, issued an order for the destruction of all the old service books. This wicked and wanton measure was only too completely carried out. The few that remain show what treasures of art have been lost, and it was not only service books that perished. Numberless other priceless manuscripts vanished with them in this act of vandalism, an act to which the burning of the Alexandrian library furnishes the only parallel.

Objects of the Revision.—The main objects which the revisers kept in view, as may be gathered from the preface and contents of the new book, were the following: First, a return to **Scripture and Primitive usage.** In the Mass the order and contents of the Sarum service were adhered to, but stress was laid upon the communion of the people by the incorporation of the 'Order of Communion,' and the Canon was practically rewritten, expressions being omitted which might be thought to countenance the doctrine of a repetition of the Sacrifice of the Cross, and the then prevalent form of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. In the daily offices the continuous recitation of the Psalter and reading of Scripture were restored, and apocryphal legends omitted. The direct invocation of saints and expressions connected with the mediæval doctrine of the state of the departed also disappeared. Secondly, it was intended to make all the Church services **congregational.** This was to be effected (*a*) by the use of the English language throughout; (*b*) by absolute uniformity and the use of a single book; (*c*) by great simplification, especially in the daily offices, and the discontinuance of all complicated ceremonies and devotions.

No exception can be taken to these principles, but they were certainly carried out in a very sweeping manner, and much that was beautiful and edifying perished. Those who were attached to the old forms of devotion could not but regret many of the changes, and in some parts of the country they were deeply resented. Still, drastic as the changes were, they were very far from satisfying the extreme Protestant party, and an agitation began at once for further measures. The fact

is that the new book represents not so much the wishes of the Council of Edward VI. as those of Henry VIII. The work was in the main carried out on lines that he had laid down. Simplification was carried to almost its extreme point, and excrescences were liberally pruned off, but there was no interference with Catholic and primitive doctrine or practice. Hence bishops whose catholicity cannot be impeached, such as Tunstall and Gardiner, were willing, although they disliked the change, to use the book as it stood, while Cranmer, egged on by the extremists, at once set to work to mutilate it. It may also be noted here that the manner of conducting public worship was hardly prescribed at all. The rubrics of the present book of Common Prayer are not very full, but in the first book even more scanty directions were given. The book was to be used by men who were familiar with an elaborate system of ritual, and it was clearly regarded as a matter of course that they would supply the want of express direction from their previous practice. The revisers perhaps intended to leave it to some extent for circumstances to determine how much of the old ritual should be retained, but the fact that it was permissible and natural to retain almost the whole of it must have helped to reconcile moderate men to the change.

The Ordinal. — The next service to be remodelled was the **Ordination Service.** This may be considered the completion of the book of 1549. On January 8, 1550, a bill for a new Ordinal was brought into the House of Lords, and it passed on January 31, five bishops voting against it. By this bill a form was sanctioned beforehand, which was to be drawn up by a commission of twelve, six bishops and six others. This commission was appointed on February 2, but only one name, that of Heath of Worcester, is known. The form must have been drawn up already, for on February 8, Heath, who was a moderate man on the Catholic side, was brought before the Council for refusing to sign it. He was imprisoned for eighteen months and then deprived. The book was in print before March 25. Cranmer and Ridley are said to have used it in an Ordination at S. Paul's in the previous year, and this is probable enough. It

received no ecclesiastical sanction except from individual bishops.

The Prayer Book of 1552.—Little is known of the way in which the **Second Prayer Book** of Edward VI.'s reign was drawn up. An agitation for further changes began as soon as the first book had been sanctioned. Vehement controversies were held on the subject of the Eucharist, and the influence of foreign reformers steadily increased. Peter Martyr and Bucer were made Regius Professors of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge, and Calvinism and Zwinglianism were making rapid progress. Cranmer, who had once been under the influence of Lutheran opinions, had before now embraced a receptionist view of the Eucharist, and was even claimed by the Zwinglian school as on their side. Ridley may have held more closely to the doctrine of the Real Presence, but the work of the destruction of altars, which he inaugurated on his own authority, shows his attitude towards the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist. Hooper, who had much influence, was a thoroughgoing Zwinglian. As the book of 1549 unquestionably taught the Real Presence, and was sufficiently explicit on the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, the main feature of the revision was certain to be an attempt to modify this. Perhaps some of the changes were suggested by Gardiner's defence when brought to trial in December 1550, when he alleged that the old doctrine was implied in a number of passages in the Liturgy of 1549. In January 1551 Martyr writes from Lambeth that a meeting of bishops had been held and many changes agreed upon, and a little later he and Bucer presented copious criticisms on the first book. Then there was a long delay. Some foreign reformers speak of discussions in 'convocatio,' but this could not have been Convocation in its proper sense, for Cranmer's Register shews that it did not meet at all for business during this period. It was not until March 9, 1552, that the Act of Uniformity was introduced into the House of Lords, and it passed April 14. Two bishops voted against it; four others who undoubtedly would have done so had been deprived on frivolous pretexts, and a fifth, Tunstall, was in prison.

Then there were more delays. The book was to come into use on November 1, but it was probably not through the press. Only three days before, the Council added the 'Black Rubric' on their own authority alone. Edward died on July 6, 1553, so the book could not have been used for more than a few months at the most. Two points must be noted with regard to this Act of Uniformity. It made non-attendance at public worship for the first time a penal offence, and thus began the melancholy history of the persecution of 'recusants.' The other point is that the Act and other official utterances minimise the very important alterations made, describing them as called for by unnecessary scruples, and speak of the first book in terms of the highest approval. The Act of 1549 had gone so far as to claim the aid of the Holy Ghost. This suggests a view which is supported by a great deal of internal evidence, namely, that the people who actually drafted the changes, probably Cranmer and Ridley, did the work more or less against their inclinations, and that they would have preferred to let the first book remain as it was. Some indications of unwillingness and of yielding to pressure will be noticed later on.

The Reign of Mary.—Very soon after the accession of Queen Mary, in the autumn of 1553, the ecclesiastical legislation of Edward's reign was repealed, and the ancient services restored.

The Reign of Elizabeth.—On Elizabeth's accession in 1559 the position of parties had greatly altered. Many of the extreme reformers had fled to the Continent, and had there imbibed the sentiments of foreign Protestants to such an extent that even the use of the book of 1552 appeared to them scarcely tolerable. Events in England also had widened the breach between the supporters of the old religion and the reforming party. A large part of the nation indeed appeared to acquiesce very quietly in the changes made both under Mary and under Elizabeth, but the party of moderate reform, which had been in the ascendant at the end of Henry's reign, had almost disappeared. Those leading members of it who were still alive had made their submission to the pope,

and could not be recalled. The nation was practically divided into two great parties: the extreme reformers, and those who wished to go back entirely to the old state of things, including the recognition of papal supremacy. Elizabeth, therefore, had a very difficult task before her. She probably wished to return as far as possible to the position of Henry's last years, and if she had thought it practicable, she might have restored the Prayer Book of 1549; but it is clear that in such a course she would not have had the support of any influential men.

Changes in the Prayer Book in 1559.—The queen had to content herself with making a few important changes in the book of 1552. An informal committee was appointed to report on the matter, and the result, after the queen in council had made her alterations, was the Act of Uniformity of 1559. This Act, which is distinguished by the extreme severity of its penalties, restored the book of 1552, with the addition of Sunday lessons, a few alterations in the Litany, especially the omission of the petition about the detestable enormities of the bishop of Rome, the restoration of the old form in the administration of the elements, the restoration of Eucharistic vestments, and the omission of the 'Black Rubric,' which had been inserted by Edward's Council without the authority of Parliament. No ecclesiastical sanction was asked or given for this change, any more than for Edward's second book; but there was no strong opposition, almost all the clergy except the bishops accepting it.

The Latin Prayer Book.—In 1560 a Latin version of the new book was sanctioned by royal letters patent for the use of the Universities and the clergy. It is not always an exact translation, and the most important point in it is that it sanctions the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament for the Sick. This is an indication of the queen's own wishes, but in practice even the directions of the book of 1559 were very commonly disregarded.

Puritan Opposition.—The Puritan party grew in influence, and expressed more and more openly their dislike of anything in public worship that at all resembled the traditional usage of the Church. One of the first points

to be raised was that of vestments. The rubric of the new book which enjoined the use of all ornaments existing in the second year of Edward, was not complied with except perhaps in rare instances. It remained unaltered, but became almost a dead letter. The queen had been authorised to take further order in the matter. This she never did, but in 1565, **Parker**, the archbishop, drew up certain **Advertisements** intended to secure a minimum of decency in public worship, and in particular requiring the use of the surplice in parish churches, and of the cope in cathedrals. Elizabeth twice refused to sign these advertisements, and they were published by Parker in 1566 on his own authority. In her own chapel the queen continued to have the crucifix and altar lights, wafer bread, 'golden vestments,' and, apparently, incense. But the Puritan party would not conform even to Parker's modified demands, and a long struggle began in which it became more and more apparent that the real object of the attack was not to modify details, but to bring the historical English Church to an end, and to found an altogether new polity on the system of Calvin. The struggle was carried on with varying success during Elizabeth's reign, and its first great period was closed by the **Hampton Court Conference** in 1604. On James I.'s accession in 1603 the Puritans hoped to accomplish their aims, and 800 of their ministers presented to him the 'Millenary Petition,' asking for relief from some of the ceremonies which they disliked. In the Conference which followed from this it became evident that the views of the Puritans were quite incompatible with the maintenance of historical Christianity, and James threw his influence on the side of the existing state of things. A few alterations were made in the Prayer Book, and authorised by royal proclamation, but there were no substantial concessions.

The changes actually made in 1604 were these:—The terms 'Absolution' and 'Confirmation' were explained; Private Baptism was directed to be done by a lawful minister; a prayer for the royal family, and occasional thanksgivings were added; a few changes were made in the lessons taken from the Apocrypha; and the part about the Sacraments was added to the Catechism.

Renewed Contest with Puritanism.—After the Hampton Court Conference the conflict between the Church and Puritanism entered upon a new phase. The attempt to revolutionise the Church from within had failed, and she was driven to justify her position by a constructive policy. This she did in the region of theory by the writings of the long series of divines whose piety and learning are the glory of the seventeenth century, and in practice by a closer adherence to her own rules, and a gradual raising of the standard of practice, life, and worship. But this process became so inextricably mixed up with the political movements of the time, that the Church became exposed to the danger of forcible suppression from without, and this was actually effected by the Long Parliament, which deposed the Catholic Church from her position as the Church of the State, and set up a Presbyterian system, tempered by Independency, in her place. During the period of the Commonwealth the Church was proscribed and persecuted. At the Restoration of Charles II. she naturally resumed at once her old position. It remained to determine her relations to the Puritan bodies. One more attempt was made to reconcile the opposing parties, but the result was really a foregone conclusion.

The Savoy Conference.—At the Savoy in 1661 twelve divines on each side debated their differences for four months, but no agreement could be arrived at. The points at issue, such as the sign of the Cross, and kneeling at the Eucharist, may appear at first sight to be matters of detail, but they were symbols of radical differences of principle. The real question at issue was the continuity of the Church. The system of the Church and that of the Puritans were and always had been irreconcilable, and the fact was at last recognised. The settlement which followed the Savoy Conference was the completion of the Reformation. The Church continued to assert her continuity and catholicity, and modified her system in her own way, while the Puritans made up their minds to remain outside, and formed separate communities of their own.

The Prayer Book of 1661.—The Convocation of 1661 therefore proceeded to revise the Prayer Book without regard to the views of the Puritans. Much of the

necessary material was already in existence, and the work proceeded rapidly. When the Convocations of the two provinces had agreed upon the revised book, it was annexed to the Act of Uniformity, which was passed in 1662. The changes made were numerous—they have been reckoned as above six hundred,—but nothing was done that changed the character of the book. Some mistakes were made, but the general intention and tendency of the alterations was to approximate somewhat more closely to Catholic practice.

The most important alterations were:—The restoration of an explicit oblation of the elements at the Offertory, and of a direction for the Fraction, both of which had been unaccountably omitted in 1549; the restoration of a Commemoration of the departed, omitted in 1552; the restoration of the 'Black Rubric,' omitted in 1559, but with an alteration of 'real and essential presence' into 'corporal presence,' which greatly alters its doctrinal meaning; the insertion of a large number of rubrical directions; and the use of the Authorised Version for most of the extracts from the Bible, except the Psalter.

Another abortive attempt at comprehension was made in the reign of William and Mary, but there has been no other serious attempt at any extensive change in the book of 1662. In 1871 a new table of lessons was substituted, and in 1872 an Act was passed to allow greater elasticity in the use of the existing services. This was prompted by good intentions, but the deficiency of liturgical knowledge of the framers of the scheme caused the result to be unfortunate.

CHAPTER II

THE LITURGY

The Devotions of the first Christians.—When the Christian Church came into existence on the day of Pentecost, and for a considerable number of years afterwards, all her members were Jews. It might have been taken for granted, even if we had no definite information on the subject, that at first, at all events, they would continue to practise the devotions of the Jewish religion. We are, however, clearly informed that they frequented the Temple services (Acts ii. 46; iii. 1), and much later it was S. Paul's practice to worship in the Jewish synagogues until he was driven out. To these Jewish practices the Christians added devotions of their own. They still observed the Sabbath, but in addition to this they commemorated the Resurrection on the first day of the week. There was no idea of substituting the one for the other. Both days were observed side by side, until in the course of time the observance of the Sabbath grew less and less, and finally disappeared. From the first also they had separate meetings of their own, at which there were added to the elements of worship inherited from the Temple or the Synagogue—Scripture readings, psalms, homilies, and prayers—two distinctively Christian features, the exercise of the supernatural gifts of the Spirit, and the celebration of the Eucharist. The former were temporary, the latter permanent. Even in S. Paul's time there were great difficulties connected with the spiritual gifts, and their exercise soon ceased. The

Eucharist became at once, and has ever continued to be, the great act of worship of the Church.

Frequency of the Eucharist.—In the earliest times it was celebrated either daily or weekly. A daily celebration appears to be spoken of in Acts ii. 46, but at Troas it seems from Acts xx. 7 to have been on the first day of the week only. Pliny's letter to Trajan[1] implies that this was the case in Bithynia about the year 112, and the Didaché and Justin Martyr give information to the same effect. Other days, such as the anniversaries of martyrs, and the 'station' days, Wednesday and Friday, were also added. In Africa, however, by the beginning of the third century, a daily celebration was the established custom. At first the celebration took place in connection with the Agapé or Love Feast. At Corinth this gave rise to abuses about which S. Paul speaks in his first Epistle, and we may conjecture that the Agapé was separated from the Eucharist in consequence of these. At all events the separation had already been effected in Bithynia when Pliny wrote in 112. This may not have been the case everywhere, and the Agapé itself lingered for some time before it was entirely given up, but little more is known about it. With regard to the time of day at which the Eucharist was celebrated, the earliest records speak of the early morning, before the eating of any other food.

Names of the Eucharist.—The names applied to the sacrament are many. The earliest is the **Breaking of Bread**, which is found in Acts ii. 42, 46, and xx. 7; and also in an epistle of S. Ignatius, and other very early writings. The title which was by far the most usual in the Primitive Church was the **Eucharist**. This word is used by S. Paul of the eucharistic prayer to which the people respond Amen in 1 Cor. xiv. 16, and again in 1 Tim. ii. 1, but it had not as yet a technical or exclusive significance. It occurs repeatedly as a title in the writings of S. Ignatius, and after that constantly. Another of the earliest titles was the **Sacrifice**, and sometimes epithets were added, as 'the pure sacrifice,' or

[1] See Note A at the end of the volume.

'the Lord's sacrifice.' **The Oblation** is also used by Clement of Rome before the end of the first century. The word **Communion** is used by S. Paul in 1 Cor. x. 16, but not as a name for the sacrament. The word came to be used of the act of participation, but it does not appear to have become common until about the fourth century. S. Paul also speaks, in 1. Cor. xi. 20, of **the Lord's Supper.** There has been a difference of opinion among commentators as to whether he meant the actual Eucharist or the Agapé, and in the Primitive Church, when the term was used, it seems to have been applied either to the Last Supper of our Lord or to the Agapé, but S. Augustine applies it to the Eucharist. From the time of S. Ambrose onwards the name **Mass** (Missa) came to be the title most commonly used in the Western Church. The word is a form of Missio (dismissal) as Collecta=Collectio. In the early Church, as will be shewn later on, the catechumens or converts who were being prepared for baptism, and the penitents who were being punished for sin, were dismissed after the introductory part of the service. This part consequently came to be called **Missa Catechumenorum** or Service of the Catechumens, and the rest of the service **Missa Fidelium** or Service of the Faithful, that is, baptized believers. The congregation is still dismissed in the Latin rite with the words, 'Ite, missa est.' As a title of the whole service the plural was often used as well as the singular, and 'missarum solemnia' was also a common term. In the Latin sacramentaries Missa was applied to the variable parts of the Liturgy, the collects, etc. The technical name for the service of the Eucharist is **the Liturgy.** The original meaning of the word includes any public function or ministration, and it is used in the New Testament and in the early Fathers without any technical sense, though in Acts xiii. 2 the verb at all events includes the celebration of the Eucharist. It is not clear when the word came to be confined to its technical meaning, and at the present day it is sometimes loosely used of other services, but this is generally done through ignorance of its special signification. The sacrament as administered to the dying was called by

the council of Nicæa A.D. 325 ἐφόδιον (Viaticum); and other titles that may be just mentioned are **Agenda**, **Mystagogia**, and **Synaxis**. The word **Sacrament** has, of course, never been confined to the Eucharist, and in the early Church it was very widely applied, but it is used by Pliny in his letter to Trajan, A.D. 112. The word to him would no doubt only convey its ordinary classical meaning of an oath, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Pliny had heard it applied to what the Christians did, and that the Eucharist was therefore already called a sacrament.

Manner of Celebration.—There are no very early accounts extant of the manner in which the Eucharist was celebrated in the early Church. Nor is it to be expected that such accounts should exist. Some liturgical formulas may have come into existence at a very early date, and it has been thought that traces of them are to be found in the New Testament, but the use of extempore prayers probably prevailed to a great extent for a considerable period, and even when formulas became fixed they were not necessarily committed to writing. At a much later period some of the most important parts of the service were commonly recited from memory. There are, in fact, no extant written liturgies of the first three centuries, and perhaps they hardly existed. It is true that liturgical works disappear very easily: the great Gallican uses, for instance, which once prevailed over Gaul, Spain, Britain, and a great part of Italy, have left only scanty fragments behind; while of the original Roman Liturgy, untouched by Gallican influence, no example exists: still, if written liturgies had been used to any great extent in the ante-Nicene period, some definite allusion, at all events, to them might have been expected. We are not, however, altogether without information as to the character of the service in the Primitive Church.

Early Notices of the Service.—In the New Testament three elements of the Liturgy are definitely mentioned: the Eucharistic prayer, apparently extempore, to which the people responded Amen (1 Cor. xiv. 16); the Fraction (Acts xx. 11; 1 Cor. x. 16); and the Distribution

(1 Cor. x. 17, xi. 26). Outside of the New Testament the recently discovered 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles' gives some formulas of a quite exceptional type, in which the 'prophets' take an important part, and which belong to a time when the Eucharist was still connected with the Agapé. Clement of Rome (i. 59-61) gives a specimen of a Eucharistic prayer. And in the middle of the second century we find in **Justin Martyr** (*Apol.* i. 65-67)[1] the first distinct description of the service. He is defending the Christians against the charges of immorality and disloyalty, and we should not therefore expect more than a bare outline. He mentions, however, seven parts of the service, in the same order in which they occur in the earliest extant liturgies. They are these:—

1. Lections from the Apostles (*i.e.* the Gospels) and Prophets.
2. A Homily.
3. Prayers for all estates of men.

 These three are a continuation of the Synagogue worship.
4. The kiss of peace.
5. The offering of bread and a cup of wine mixed with water.
6. A long prayer of thanksgiving to which the people respond Amen.
7. Distribution by the deacons to those present, and reservation for the absent.

Several writers of the second and third centuries mention the Eucharistic prayer, and we gather from them that it contained the words of Institution and an invocation of the Holy Spirit. S. Cyprian and the Canons of Hippolytus also mention the Sursum Corda (Lift up your hearts) which begins the Anaphora in all existing liturgies, and the latter document also gives the formula of administration: 'This is the Body of Christ' *R.* 'Amen.' 'This is the Blood of Christ' *R.* 'Amen.'

Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions. — The earliest extant complete liturgy is that which is called the Clementine. It is contained in the eighth book of the

[1] See Note A at the end of the volume.

Apostolic Constitutions, a compilation made about the middle of the fourth century by the editor and interpolator of the letters of S. Ignatius. In the second book there is another description of the service. This liturgy is not one that was ever in actual use. The prayers, which are sometimes of very great length, are for the most part the composition of the compiler. But it gives the order and nature of the service as it existed in Syria in the fourth century, and the information we derive from it is confirmed by the 'Catecheses' of S. Cyril of Jerusalem, delivered in 347. All the parts of the service mentioned by Justin Martyr are contained in this liturgy in the same order, and although, as will be seen later, different families of liturgies differ slightly in the order of the parts, and although in the course of ages there have been some modifications, all existing liturgies nevertheless resemble each other very closely in structure, and shew that in the most distant countries the Eucharist must have been celebrated in the same manner from a time far earlier than the existing documents. It will be useful, therefore, to enumerate the parts of which this earliest extant liturgy consists, and then to compare it with later liturgies.

Divisions of the Service.—In the first place it may be noticed that it falls into two main divisions. The first is preparatory. It is called **Missa Catechumenorum**, as has been already explained, and it consists principally of lections from Scripture, psalmody, homilies, and prayers—the elements, in fact, of the Synagogue worship. The rest of the service is known as the **Missa Fidelium**, and falls into three sections. The first section of the Missa Fidelium is preparatory to the Consecration of the Sacrament and the Communion. Its most important feature is the Offertory, or oblation of the elements. The second section is the **Anaphora**, or offering, the most solemn part of the service. It opens with thanksgiving, culminating in the Sanctus, and then follows the long Eucharistic prayer. The third section is the actual **Communion** of the priest and people, with the ceremonies and prayers which accompany it. The whole service may be subdivided thus :—

§ i. **Missa Catechumenorum.**

A. *Approach to the Altar.* Nothing is said about this in the Clementine Liturgy. In later liturgies, especially those of the East, it was much expanded, as the private devotions of the priest and people were taken up into the service. Litanies are a special feature of the introduction in the East.

B. *Instruction.* There were originally at least three lections, one from the Old Testament as well as the Epistle and Gospel. An Old Testament Lesson, lectio prophetica, is still read on certain days in the Latin rite. Between the lessons psalms were sung, and the Gospel was followed by a homily.

C. *Prayers for and dismissal of Catechumens, etc.* In the early liturgies these prayers were of great length. This part of the service naturally disappeared with the disappearance of the Catechumens themselves.

§ ii. **Missa Fidelium—Preparatory Section.**

D. *Prayers of the Faithful.* These prayers, which are very long in the Clementine Liturgy, also diminished greatly. In the Roman Liturgy they are represented by the single word Oremus (let us pray) without any prayer following.

E. *The Creed.* This was of comparatively late introduction. It is said to have been introduced by Peter the Fuller at Antioch (471) and by Timothy at Constantinople (511), two bishops of Monophysite tendencies, in order to prevent any statement of the doctrine of the Council of Chalcedon being added to it.

F. *The Pax,* or Kiss of Peace. Originally an actual kiss, but this has been modified in various ways from a comparatively early period.

G. *The Lavabo,* or washing of the priest's hands.

H. *The Offertory.* This includes (*a*) the offering of the elements by the people, (*b*) the preparation of the gifts by the deacons, (*c*) the setting them forth on the altar. In most liturgies (*a*) was discontinued, and in most Eastern liturgies (*b*) came to be done in a preparatory service called the Prothesis, and then the gifts were brought in a procession called the Great Entrance. The Diptychs, or lists of the living and the dead, in whose name the sacrifice is offered, were originally read here in the Eastern liturgies. The order of the Creed, Pax, Lavabo, and Offertory differs in different liturgies.

§ iii. **The Anaphora.**

I. *Thanksgiving.*

(*a*) 'The grace of our Lord,' etc. This is peculiar to the East.

(*b*) 'Sursum Corda,' etc. This is universal.

(*c*) The Preface. 'It is very meet, right,' etc. This is of very great length in the Clementine Liturgy, and in early times was no doubt extempore. In the early Middle Ages there were many special prefaces in the West. The modern Latin rite only retains ten.

(*d*) The Sanctus. 'Holy, holy, holy,' etc.

K. *The Consecration.* This may be further subdivided:

(*a*) *Commemoration* of the work of Redemption.

(*b*) Recital of the narrative of the *Institution.* This is contained in all liturgies except that of S. Addæus and S. Maris, and there it is only omitted because it is recited by heart. The Gallican liturgies only write the first two words.

(*c*) *The Great Oblation,* or Anamnesis, 'the Memorial which Thy Son hath commanded us to make.'

(*d*) *The Epiklesis*, or Invocation of the Holy Spirit, to make the bread and wine the Body and Blood of Christ. This is regarded by the Eastern Churches as an essential part of the consecration, but express invocation has not existed in the Roman Liturgy from an early date.

L. *The Great Intercession*, for the living and the dead. The place of this varies in different families of liturgies.

M. *The Lord's Prayer*. For some reason, which has never been explained, this is absent from the Clementine Liturgy, but otherwise it is universal. It is preceded by a preface, and followed by an expansion of the two last clauses, called Embolismos.

§ iv. **The Communion.**

N. *Prayer of Humble Access*, a preparation of the Communicants for receiving the Sacrament.

O. *The Manual Acts*, a ritual preparation for Communion.

(*a*) *Elevation*. Perhaps originally the raising and exhibition of the gifts as they were brought out for the communion of the people. Afterwards it is interpreted as symbolic of the Crucifixion or the Resurrection. The elevation in the Latin rite, immediately after the words of Institution, only dates from about the twelfth century. The Elevation is accompanied by the words, *τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις*, holy things to holy persons.

(*b*) *Fraction*. A reproduction of our Lord's act at the Institution, and a breaking for distribution. The Fraction (*κλάσις*) as symbolic of the Passion came to be distinguished from the *μελισμός* for distribution.

(*c*) *Consignation.* The sign of the Cross made with the species of bread over the species of wine.

(*d*) *Commixture.* The putting of a particle of the Sacrament into the chalice. Symbolical of the reunion of our Lord's body and soul after the Resurrection.

The Clementine Liturgy gives no directions for the manual acts, but it contains the formula, *τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις*, which accompanied them.

P. *The Communion.* The actual distribution to the people, with the words, 'The Body of Christ,' 'The Blood of Christ.'

Q. *Thanksgiving* after Communion.

R. *Dismissal.*

All these parts of the service are found in this order in the Clementine Liturgy, except, as noted above, the Introduction, the Creed, the Paternoster, and the Manual Acts, and no other parts have been added which do not fall under one of these heads.

Families of Liturgies.—From the fifth century liturgies may be classed under four great families, two Eastern and two Western, following the great ecclesiastical divisions, and especially the influence of the great centres of Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and perhaps Milan.

i. **The Syrian Liturgies.** These may again be divided into groups:

(1) **The Liturgies of West Syria,** *i.e.* the country more immediately dependent upon Antioch and Jerusalem. There was a Greek Liturgy of S. James, still used once a year in Zante, and Syriac liturgies derived from it, used by the Jacobites and Maronites.

(2) **The Liturgies of East Syria,** or Persia and Mesopotamia. The Liturgy of S. Addæus and S. Maris is still used by the Nestorians.

(3) **Byzantine Liturgies** (Cæsarea and Constantinople). Of these, that of S. Basil is the most ancient, and it is still used on certain days in the Orthodox Eastern Churches. The usual liturgy in these churches (*i.e.* in all the Greek patriarchates of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, as well as in the national churches of Greece, Russia, Roumania, etc.) is that of S. Chrysostom, which has gradually supplanted all others.

(4) **The Armenian Liturgy**, derived from the Byzantine.

The original order and arrangement of the Syrian Liturgy has been given above. The chief peculiarity of the East Syrian liturgies is that the Great Intercession is placed before the Epiklesis. As has been mentioned above, the recital of the Institution has dropped out of the Liturgy of S. Addæus and S. Maris. The Byzantine liturgies have very much developed the introductory part of the service, especially the part called the Prothesis, in which the elements are prepared before the liturgy proper begins.

ii. **The Alexandrine Liturgies.**

There was an original Greek Liturgy of S. Mark, dating at least from the fifth century. It is no longer used, the orthodox Greeks in Egypt having gradually come to use the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom. There are also three Coptic liturgies, used by the Monophysite churches, and Abyssinian liturgies. The chief peculiarity of S. Mark's Liturgy is that the Great Intercession comes between the Preface and the Sanctus.

iii. **The Gallican Liturgies.**

These were once used throughout Gaul, Spain, North Italy, and Britain. In the time of Charles the Great they were superseded in Gaul by the

Roman rite. The documents containing their remains are very fragmentary, except that the Mozarabic Liturgy of Spain, which was supplanted for the most part by the Roman Liturgy in the eleventh century, still continued to be used, and was printed with some modifications by Cardinal Ximenes in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The narrative of the Institution in the English service resembles the Mozarabic form, but was apparently derived from a German source. The Ambrosian Liturgy, which is still used at Milan, has been gradually assimilated to the Roman, and is sometimes classed with the Roman family. But originally it appears to have had all the most important Gallican characteristics.

The Gallican liturgies strongly resemble those of the East. They are very rich in variable parts. The Great Intercession comes between the Offertory and the Anaphora. The Epiklesis sometimes disappears. One peculiarity, that the rubrics are in the imperative instead of the indicative mood, was continued in the Sarum Mass.

The early history of the Gallican use is full of difficulties. As it resembles the Eastern Liturgies it has been thought that it was brought from Ephesus to Gaul by the founders of the Church of Lyons in the second century. This view is now considered untenable. M. Duchesne thinks that it came through Milan in the latter half of the fourth century, when the influence of Milan on the Churches beyond the Alps was very great. A more probable view is that the Gallican liturgy was never 'introduced' from the East at all, but that it is the original Western liturgy. According to this view the Roman Liturgy is the result of a reformation that took place at Rome in the fourth century, while the original liturgy held its ground in the provinces. The features which appear Oriental would thus be simply primitive.

iv. The Roman Liturgy.

The use of this liturgy appears to have been confined in early times to Southern Italy, but

ultimately it prevailed over the whole of the Western Churches, as that of Constantinople extended over the East. Many Gallican elements were however incorporated in it. The most important documents which describe the service in its earlier form are the **Sacramentaries**, which contain the variable prayers of the Mass for the different seasons of the year, and the **Ordines Romani**, of different dates, which describe the service. The earliest Sacramentary is that known as the **Leonine**. M. Duchesne fixes its date in the middle of the sixth century. It contains a great number of ancient forms, but it is merely a private collection, badly arranged. The **Gelasian** Sacramentary is a collection used in Gaul from the seventh century. It contains the Roman prayers of the Mass of that date, with a considerable admixture of Gallican forms. The **Gregorian** Sacramentary is a book sent by Pope Hadrian to Charles the Great at the end of the eighth century. It gives the prayers of the Mass as they were used by the pope at that date. From these documents, and from the writings of mediæval ritualists, it is possible to form a pretty complete idea of the Roman Mass, as it existed from the time of S. Gregory onwards.

Liturgy of the Sarum Missal.—The Sarum Missal gives the form of service used in England after the Conquest, and as it is from this form that the 'Order of Holy Communion' is immediately derived, it will be well to describe here the contents of that service, noting additions to the earlier Roman form. It will be arranged under the same headings as the Clementine Liturgy, described above, so that the differences in order and contents may be easily seen.

§ i. **Missa Catechumenorum.**

A. *Approach to the Altar.*

Private prayers said by the celebrant are probably universal, but they do not properly

belong to the service. They have a tendency, however, to become included in it. In the Sarum and modern Roman uses, Psalm xliii., 'Give sentence with me, O Lord,' and a mutual confession of the priest and the assistant ministers are said, and some prayers. In the Sarum use (not the Roman) these include the Lord's Prayer and the Collect for Purity, which have been incorporated in the English service. As the priest approached the altar the **Introit**, or Psalmus ad Introitum (called Officium in the Sarum use) is said or sung. Then follows the Kyrie Eleison. This was introduced from the East, and is really the end of a litany, still said in the Roman use on Easter Eve. Then follows the **Gloria in Excelsis**, also an Eastern importation. In the East it is not used in the Mass, but as a Matins hymn. It was introduced at Rome first on Christmas Day, then on all Sundays, then on other days. For a long time it was only used by bishops.

The **Collect** is a feature peculiar to Western liturgies. Different explanations have been given of the meaning of the word, but in the ancient Roman Sacramentaries it appears clearly to mean the opening prayer when the people are gathered together,—ad Collectam (or Collectionem) plebis,—colligere plebem being a common expression for meeting for public worship. The corresponding Greek words are *συνάγειν* and *σύναξις*. In the Gallican uses, however, Collectio seems to mean the 'collective prayer.' The priest invited the people to pray for certain objects, and after a pause for silent prayer rose and summed up their petitions in the Collectio. In ancient books the number of collects said is ordered to be uneven, *i.e.* one, three, five, or seven, perhaps as a symbol of unity. The additional collects at the end of the English Liturgy may have been placed there to allow of compliance with this rule.

B. *Instruction.*

The Old Testament lesson, or lectio prophetica, seems to have disappeared in the fifth century at Rome, but it still survives in the Roman missal on certain Lent and Ember days, and also at Milan. Another trace of it is to be found in the double psalmody between the Epistle and Gospel. The **Gradual** was a psalm that followed the Epistle, and it was so called because it was sung from the steps of the ambo or pulpit from which the lessons were read. It was sung not by the choir, but by a single voice, and until the time of Gregory the Great always by a deacon, but the rule was then relaxed, as it led to deacons being chosen for their voices. The psalm has now dwindled down to one verse. The Gradual was followed by **Alleluia.** This has been sung in the service of the Mass from very ancient times, and in nearly all liturgies was sung before the Gospel. In the Gallican uses it followed the Gospel. In penitential seasons the **Tract** is substituted for Alleluia. It is part of a psalm, and derives its name from the manner in which it was sung. The Alleluia was sometimes followed by the **Sequence** or **Prose**, a sort of hymn introduced about the tenth century. At one time they were very numerous, but only four are retained in the modern Roman missal. The Gospel should be followed by the **Homily**, but this seems to have been discontinued at Rome at an early date. Priests were not allowed to preach there, and the only two popes whose homilies have been preserved are S. Leo and S. Gregory. In old English canons preaching is frequently ordered, and the sermon sometimes followed the Creed or the Offertory, instead of the Gospel. It was not therefore an innovation to put the sermon after the Creed, as was done in the English Prayer Book.

C. *The Dismissal of Catechumens and Penitents.*

This had entirely disappeared from the ordinary Roman service before the eighth century. But a form of dismissal still remained in the service called In aurium apertione, part of the preparation of candidates for Baptism.

E. *The Creed.*

§ ii. **Missa Fidelium—Preparatory section.**

D. *The Prayers of the Faithful.*

Nothing, as has been said, remains of these in the ordinary service except the word Oremus, which follows the Creed. But the prayer itself, or parts of it, still survives in the intercessions for all estates of men used on Good Friday.

H. *The Offertory.*

The actual oblation of the elements by the people was in use at Rome in the eighth century and long after, and still continues at Milan. During the oblation a psalm was sung, and S. Augustine mentions the introduction of this custom at Carthage in his time. In the present Roman use only a single verse is sung, without antiphon or response. The Sacramentaries do not direct prayers to be said while the elements are placed on the altar. Those in the Sarum and Roman books correspond to those used in the Eastern liturgies at the Prothesis, before the service proper begins.

G. *The Lavabo.*

When the priest has placed the gifts on the altar, he washes his hands, and then says some more prayers, ending with the Secreta, a collect varying with the day, and said in silence.

I. *Thanksgiving.*

(*b*) Dominus vobiscum, etc. Sursum Corda, etc.
(*c*) The Preface.
(*d*) The Sanctus and Benedictus. These parts have been already explained.

§ iii. **The Eucharistic Prayer.**

This is called in the Roman Liturgy the **Canon**, and sometimes the name is applied to the whole of the service after the Preface. The chief peculiarities of the Roman Canon are two: first, that an Intercession (L) comes twice over, before the Institution, and after the Oblation; and secondly, that there is no direct Invocation of the Holy Spirit, although there are two clauses that resemble it, one before the Institution, and one in the usual place after the Oblation. The different clauses are generally referred to by their opening words.[1] They are as follows:—

L. *a.* Te igitur.
Memento Domine.
Communicantes.
These clauses enumerate those in whose name the Oblation is made, the whole Church, the Pope and Bishops, the congregation, the Blessed Virgin and all the Saints. They are thought to correspond rather to the reading of The Diptychs in the Eastern liturgies than to the Intercession proper.
Hanc igitur oblationem. A prayer for the Church added by S. Gregory.

K. (*d*)? Quam oblationem. A prayer that the oblation 'may become to us the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ,' without mention of the Holy Spirit.

K. (*b*) Qui pridie. The narrative of the Institution. After the words, 'Hoc est enim Corpus meum,' and 'Hic est enim Calix, . . .' the priest genuflects (or in the Sarum rite bows) and elevates the Oblation.

K. (*c*) Unde et memores.
Supra quae propitio. The Great Oblation.

K. (*d*)? Supplices te rogamus. A prayer that the

[1] A translation of the Sarum Canon is given in Note B at the end of the volume.

Gifts may 'be borne by the hands of thy holy Angel to thine altar on high.' M. Duchesne points out that although the imagery is different from that of the Eastern Epiklesis, the idea of invoking the Divine intervention is the same.

L. β. Memento etiam, Domine.

Nobis quoque peccatoribus. The Great Intercession, in a short form, for the departed, and for the living, with a commemoration of the Saints.

Per quem haec omnia. A clause from which a prayer for the fruits of the earth is said to have dropped out. The Consignation, or signing with one species over the other, takes place during this clause.

M. The Lord's Prayer, with the usual preface and Embolismus. Before the time of S. Gregory the Lord's Prayer came later, probably just before the Communion.

§ iv. **The Communion.**

O (*b*) (*d*) The Fraction takes place during the Embolismus, or clause following the Lord's Prayer.

A particle of the Sacrament is placed in the chalice with the words 'Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum.' This ceremony is called the Commixtio. The Agnus Dei, since about the seventh century, is then sung. In the Sarum rite there was no Commixture until after the Agnus.

F. *The Pax.*

In the eighth century the Pax was given immediately after the words Pax Domini . . . and the Fraction followed, with a complicated ritual, intended to emphasise the unity of the Sacrifice, as the same offering, the same communion, at all places and at all times. For the actual kiss there was substituted in later times the handing round and kissing of a plate, generally of metal, called the Pax, and ornamented with some sacred subject.

N. *The Preparation of the Communicants.*

In the modern Roman use two prayers are said here by the priest, and in the Sarum use there are several. In the eighth century no prayers are specified. Probably before S. Gregory the Pater Noster came here.

P. *The Communion.*

Until the thirteenth century the people were still communicated in both kinds, the deacons ministering the chalice. The Roman rubric directs the people to be communicated here, before the ablutions. The method of taking the ablutions is not specified in the eighth century. During the Communion the antiphon and psalm called ad Communionem, or Communio, was sung. Now there is only the antiphon, which is sung afterwards.

Q. *Thanksgiving.*

This consists of a variable collect, called Post Communio.

R. *Dismissal.*

The formula is Ite missa est, or Benedicamus Domino. In masses for the dead, Requiescant in pace.

Changes made in 1549.—This was the service which the revisers of 1549 had before them to translate and adapt. No alterations were made in its general order and arrangement, and the changes adopted may be arranged under three heads, which may be considered separately.

Omissions.—First, there were certain omissions. These seem to have been made entirely with the view of simplification. The preparatory section was shortened by leaving out the psalm Judica, and the confession. The Introit was retained in the form of a complete psalm without an antiphon, as well as the Lord's Prayer, Collect for purity, Kyrie, Gloria in Excelsis, and Collect. In section B all the sung parts between the Epistle and Gospel were omitted, and at the Offertory all the prayers said privately by the priest. Otherwise no change at all was made until after the Sanctus. After the Consecration the directions about the Pax and the manual

acts were omitted: the words, however, 'The Peace of the Lord be always with you,' and the Agnus Dei, which accompanied them, were retained. The prayers of preparation, and the Post Communion collect, and the formula of dismissal were omitted, longer forms being substituted for them. The antiphon called the Communion was retained in the form of a number of sentences, one of which was to be said as a Post Communion.

It is clear that no question of doctrine was involved in these omissions. The psalmody between the Epistle and Gospel was indeed very ancient, but it had been so changed in the course of ages that the revisers probably did not realise this, and the variations had become so complicated that the service certainly gained in simplicity by the omission. The prayers at the Offertory were said privately by the priest, and they do not appear in the oldest books. The absence of directions for the Fraction may be due to the general scantiness of rubrical directions that has been noted above: and the Fraction is actually implied in a rubric.

Additions.—There was therefore no radical change in the matter of omission, and the same may be said with regard to the additions. The parts added were the Exhortations and the preparation for and thanksgiving after participation contained in the 'Order of Communion' of 1548. The first exhortation was that which stands third in the present book, and it was ordered to be said occasionally after the sermon; the second was substantially the same as that which now stands first, the passage in it about Confession containing a warning that none should be offended because others did or did not make use of private confession to the priest. There was nothing corresponding to these exhortations in the old service, but they are merely additions to the sermon, and introduce no new element. The preparation and thanksgiving expanded parts of the service which were scantily represented in the Latin rite, and which are much fuller in the Eastern liturgies. The object of all the additions was to promote the frequent communion of the laity, a matter which the reformers rightly had much at heart.

The Canon.—The third change was the greatest. It was the practical rewriting of the whole Eucharistic prayer. The Sarum canon, as has been pointed out, was less clear in its arrangement than the corresponding prayer of other liturgies. The Intercession came twice over, and there was no introductory Commemoration of the work of Redemption and no explicit Invocation. Some of the expressions used, though ancient, were obscure, and some might appear to countenance a mediæval view of the nature of the Eucharistic Sacrifice which the reformers were anxious to repudiate. (See Note C.) In the prayer put out in 1549, although little of the exact wording of the Sarum canon was preserved, all the parts are clear and distinct, and the omissions of the Sarum canon are made good. The prayer begins with the Intercession, the prayer for the living as it stands at present, followed by an intercession for the departed and a commemoration of the Saints, of great beauty, and fully in accordance with catholic usage. It runs thus: 'Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church—Almighty and everliving God . . . to receive these our prayers, which we offer . . . [then as at present] or any other adversity. And especially we commend unto thy merciful goodness this congregation, which is here assembled in thy Name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most glorious death of thy Son: And here we do give unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue, declared in all thy Saints, from the beginning of the world: And chiefly in the glorious and most blessed virgin Mary, mother of thy Son Jesu Christ our Lord and God, and in the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, whose examples (O Lord) and stedfastness in thy faith, and keeping thy holy commandments, grant us to follow. We commend unto thy mercy (O Lord) all other thy servants, which are departed hence from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace: Grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy, and everlasting peace, and that at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they which be of the mystical body of thy Son, may altogether be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice: Come unto

me, O ye that be blessed of my Father, and possess the Kingdom, which is prepared for you, from the beginning of the world: Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only mediator and advocate. O God, heavenly Father, . . . until his coming again.' The reason for placing the Intercession first is clearly because the opening Intercession of the Sarum canon was regarded as the principal and original Intercession. This may be a wrong view, but as the place of the Intercession varies greatly in different liturgies, it cannot be regarded as a matter of great moment. After the Intercession followed a short Commemoration of the work of Redemption, as it stands now. 'O God, heavenly Father . . . until his coming again': then, before the narrative of the Institution, came the Invocation. 'Hear us (O merciful Father) we beseech thee: and with thy holy Spirit and word, vouchsafe to bl✠ess and sanc✠tify these thy gifts, and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ.' The reason why this is placed before and not after the Institution, as in all other liturgies, is clearly because of the clause in the Sarum canon which came in this place, the wording of which is partly adopted, and because of the view commonly taken in the Western Church that the consecration is completed by the words of Institution. The narrative of the Institution which follows immediately is not that of the Sarum Liturgy, but resembles the Mozarabic, which was in print at the time, but whether it was taken directly from this, or indirectly through a Lutheran source, is uncertain. It was no doubt preferred as being nearer to the accounts in the Gospels. Then without any elevation, which at this point was only a late Western custom, follows the Oblation: 'Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the Institution of thy dearly beloved Son, our Saviour Jesu Christ, we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make, having in remembrance his blessed passion, mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension, rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us

by the same, entirely desiring thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving': and the rest of the present prayer of Oblation, the whole concluding with the Lord's Prayer.

Changes of 1549 and 1552 compared.—From this summary of the changes made in 1549 it will be seen that the revision was thoroughly conservative. No primitive or Catholic element was omitted, and the Catholic doctrines of the Real Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice were unmistakably taught. (See Note C.) It was otherwise with the revision of 1552. This, as has been pointed out, was a practical compromise between the extreme reformers and the conservatives who formed the bulk of the Church. The former held Calvinistic or Zwinglian views on the question of the Eucharist, and also disliked Catholic tradition so much that they wished to make the service as unlike the old service as possible. The latter were satisfied with things as they were. Consequently the alterations were of two kinds. Some expressions were omitted or modified which were impossible or difficult to reconcile with Calvinistic or Zwinglian views; and moreover, sweeping changes were made in the arrangement of the parts of the service,—changes which had indeed no particular doctrinal significance, but which made the whole service wear a very different aspect. This made it easier for the extremists to accept the book. On the other hand, the conservatives might comfort themselves with the reflection that nothing essential had been omitted, and that nothing had been introduced which was in any way inconsistent with catholic doctrine; and further, that the revisers emphatically disclaimed the intention of making any important change, and spoke of the earlier form in the highest possible terms.

Changes made in 1552.—The principal omissions and modifications were as follows: The word 'Mass' was left out of the title; and the word 'altar' wherever it occurred. The Introit was omitted, and the Kyrie transformed into a response to the Commandments, which were now introduced, in imitation perhaps of a reformed service published in 1551 by the Calvinist Pullain. There were no directions for placing the elements upon the Table. In the Canon the mention of the saints and the

faithful departed and the holy angels was entirely omitted, as well as the first part, given above, of the prayer of Oblation, while the wording of the Invocation was changed and the express mention of the Holy Spirit left out. The Benedictus, the Agnus Dei, and the words 'Christ our Paschal Lamb is offered up for us,' etc., were also omitted. What was perhaps most significant of all, the ancient formula of administration was removed, and the words 'Take and eat this,' etc., substituted. The changes in the order of the service were not important doctrinally, but they were more effective in giving a novel aspect to the whole. Thus the Gloria in Excelsis was put at the end of the service instead of at the beginning. This was of no importance in itself, for, as has been seen, this hymn was only a late importation for occasional use, and the alteration may have been due simply to a desire for change. In the dislocation of the Canon, however, another motive may perhaps be traced. There appears to have been a desire to lay stress on the act of participation as an integral part of the service, and hence the Communion of the priest and people was placed immediately after the narrative of the Institution. The preparation of the communicants thus had to be placed before the Consecration; the Exhortations, Confession, Absolution, and Comfortable Words immediately before the Sursum Corda; and the Prayer of Humble Access after the Sanctus. The prayer for the Church (now called 'the Church militant here on earth') was put still earlier, after the Offertory, and the prayer of Oblation and the Lord's Prayer, with their natural order transposed, after the Communion. Important changes were also made in the rubrics. The still existing rubric about the position of the Table suggested at all events that it should not stand 'altarwise.' Eucharistic vestments, before enjoined, were expressly forbidden. An archbishop or bishop was to wear a rochet, a priest or deacon a surplice only. Ordinary bread was allowed to be used instead of wafer bread, and it was to be delivered into the hands of the communicants instead of into their mouths. The minimum number of communicants was fixed at three, and no directions were given for reservation. Finally, the 'Black Rubric,' or Declaration on

Kneeling, in a form which appeared to deny the doctrine of the Real Presence, was inserted at the last moment by the sole authority of the Council.

These alterations represent the extreme limit of the concessions to Protestant feeling that have been made in the formularies, and it may be a consolation to some to remember that the book of 1552 never received any ecclesiastical sanction whatever. There is no evidence as to how far it was actually used, but it could not have been in use for more than a few months at the most.

Changes made in 1559.—Elizabeth made three important changes in the service of 1552, which she was unwillingly obliged to restore. In the book of 1559 the use of Eucharistic vestments is again ordered, the Declaration on Kneeling is omitted, and the ancient form of administration restored. The form of 1552 was left, but the use of it after the other form could not be regarded as heterodox.

Changes made in 1661.—The alterations of 1604 did not touch the Communion Service, but those of 1661 were both numerous and important. The most important were: the restoration of an explicit oblation of the elements at the Offertory, and of directions for the Fraction and other manual acts, which had been unaccountably omitted in 1549; the restoration in a shorter form of the commemoration of the departed, omitted in 1552; and the restoration of the Declaration on Kneeling, omitted in 1559, but with the alteration of the words 'real and essential presence' into 'corporal presence.' This was done to sanction the doctrine of the Real Presence.

Other alterations were: the use of the Authorised Version for the Epistles and Gospels; the insertion of a number of rubrical directions—the people are to stand for the Gospel and Creed; the Priest is to turn to the people for the Commandments and then stand as before; he is reverently to present the Alms; he is to return to the Table after the Sermon and the Communion, and stand before the Table at the Consecration, etc.; an important rubric ordered the reverent consumption of the remaining elements—a direction which has sometimes been supposed to forbid any reservation; a doxology was added to the second Lord's Prayer; the exhortation to self-examination and Confession, which was ordered before to be said 'sometime at the discretion of the Curate,' was now to be read before every Celebration.

This concludes the history of the English Communion Service to the present time, but a few notes may be added here on some parts of it which have not yet been dealt with. First, something should be said about the **Collects**. The meaning of the word has been already explained on page 28. The characteristics of a collect are easily stated. In its simplest form it consists of an invocation, a concise petition, and a conclusion. The ancient collects conform with little variation to this type, but in the last revision of the Book of Common Prayer the term was more loosely used, and was applied to several prayers which from their length and diffuseness should be placed in a different category. Of the collects now used in the English Communion Service the greater number are translations of ancient collects which are to be found in the Leonine, Gelasian, and Gregorian Sacramentaries. Twenty-eight were added in 1549, entirely, or almost entirely, new compositions: one was rewritten in 1552, and three were added in 1661. The new collects may in most cases be easily distinguished from the old by the difference of style; they are far less simple and direct, and they contain more verbal quotations from Scripture. But many of the old collects were expanded and adorned with epithets in the process of translation, so that they resemble closely the new work of 1549. The difference between the old and new style will be easily realised by comparing the collects for Advent Sunday and Christmas Day, two of the finest and most rhythmical of those composed in 1549, with some of the old collects which have been translated literally, such as those for the Fourteenth, Seventeenth, and Twenty-first Sundays after Trinity. The collects written in 1661 are, in accordance with the taste of the period, more florid still, but they are extremely fine specimens of that kind of writing. The manner in which the collect for St. Stephen's Day was enlarged in 1661 may also be taken as a good example of the style of that time. In 1549 the translation of the old Gregorian collect ran thus: 'Grant us, O Lord, to learn to love our enemies, by the example of thy Martyr Saint Stephen, who prayed to thee for his persecutors; which livest and reignest,' etc.

The collects added in 1549 were those for the following days:

i. and ii. Advent, Christmas, Circumcision, Quinquagesima, Ash Wednesday, i. Lent, Good Friday iii., i. and ii. Easter, S. Thomas, S. Matthias, S. Mark, S. Philip and S. James, S. Barnabas, S. John Baptist, S. Peter, S. James, S. Matthew, S. Luke, S. Simon and S. Jude, All Saints; and also the third, fifth, and sixth collects at the end of the Communion Service, and the collect for the Communion of the Sick. The collects for S. Paul and S. Bartholomew were practically new, and the collect for the Sunday after Ascension was formed out of an old antiphon, addressed to the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. The revisers must have mistaken the significance of O Rex gloriae. The reason why there were so many new collects for Saints' days was that the old prayers often contained references to the intercessions of the Saints. In 1552 the present collect for S. Andrew's Day was substituted for that written in 1549, and two collects, for a first Communion on Christmas Day and for S. Mary Magdalene, were omitted. In 1661 a new composition was provided for the Third Sunday in Advent in the place of the old collect, and the Sixth Sunday after Epiphany and Easter Eve, hitherto without collects, were provided with them. Some other collects, like that for S. Stephen's Day, were enlarged, and a number of small alterations were made. One series of additions was unfortunate. The ancient collects had a certain number of fixed endings, which were taken for granted and not usually written down: 'Who livest and reignest,' etc., according to the form of the collect. The same plan was pursued in the earlier English books, but in 1661 'Amen' was printed at the end of all the collects as they stood, so that the endings were lost except in those cases where they had already been printed in full. All the other collects are translations of Sarum forms which are to be found in one of the Sacramentaries. The most literal translations are those for ii. Epiphany, xiv., xvii., xxi., xxiii. Trinity, and the Annunciation. In most cases the translation is free, and tends to enlarge the original. This is often judiciously done, for a literal translation from the Latin is apt to sound bald in English, but the force and simplicity of the original are not unfrequently weakened, and there are some cases where the sense was misunderstood. A few other ancient collects are to be found in other parts of the Book of Common Prayer, the invariable collects at Matins and Evensong, the prayer for Clergy and People, 'We humbly beseech Thee' in the Litany, 'O Lord, we beseech Thee' in the Commination, and 'O Lord, Whose nature and property.'

History of the Litany.—This appears to be also the appropriate place for a short sketch of the history of the Litany, which in its present English form must be regarded as a preparation for the Eucharistic Service, and which was certainly never intended to be a mere appendix to Matins. The word Litany (λιτανεία, letania) means simply a supplication, but the word was early appropriated

to those forms of prayer which consist of a series of short supplications or biddings, with a response to each. These became common at an early date. In the East they commonly take the form of a bidding prayer, or series of short exhortations to prayer recited usually by the deacon, with the response Kyrie Eleison. In the West the supplications are direct prayers. Such litanies were commonly sung in procession, so commonly that in the West Litany and Procession became convertible terms. The first regular institution of such processions has been ascribed to S. Chrysostom, at Constantinople, at the end of the fourth century. He is said to have introduced them in opposition to the Arians, who were accustomed to sing in procession. In the Western Church two annual processions of special importance were instituted in the fifth and sixth centuries—one in the Gallican church, the other at Rome. In 470 Vienne had been visited by earthquakes and other calamities, and the Bishop Mamertus vowed that he would institute processions on the three days before Ascension Day, which thus became known as the **Rogation Days**. This observance spread widely, and already existed as a custom in England when it was ordered by the Council of Clovisho in 747. At Rome in 590, during a visitation of the plague, Gregory the Great ordered a solemn litany on **S. Mark's Day**, and this also became an established institution, but litanies were probably already common at Rome. In the Middle Ages processions or litanies were one of the most conspicuous features of public devotion, and the Sarum **Processional** contains minute directions for the processions which preceded Mass on all Sundays and many other days, and which were also used at Vespers and on many special occasions, often with great pomp and ceremony. The processions sometimes took place in church, sometimes in the churchyards, and on certain occasions even through the streets and fields. All these processions were summarily prohibited by injunctions of Edward VI. in 1547. Many things, such as antiphons and psalms, were thus sung in procession, but the litany was mainly composed of brief petitions. Its germ was the Kyrie Eleison, which, as has been seen, was imported from the East in the sixth century, or earlier,

and which was often repeated and varied with Christe Eleison. To this a number of definite supplications were added, and the most usual responses, according to the form of the prayer, were Parce nobis Domine, Libera nos Domine, and Te rogamus audi nos.

Invocation of Saints.—Another and quite a different element was the calling upon the Saints by name. It was the natural and probably universal belief of the Early Church that the departed Saints have at least as intimate a communion with God as when they were upon earth, and that they continue their intercessions on behalf of the Church. Numerous early prayers desire God to hear and answer these supplications. A further belief arose that in some way the departed may become conscious of the necessities of those on earth; and this led to their being addressed by name, with a petition for their prayers, and these petitions found their special place in the litanies. The Saints were asked simply for their prayers, not to do anything themselves for the supplicants. They were generally invoked in classes—the Blessed Virgin, the Angels, the Apostles, the Martyrs, etc.—and a certain number of names of each class was recited by the minister, the people responding to each, 'Ora pro nobis.'

Structure of Litanies.—The ordinary structure of a mediæval litany was as follows:—First came Kyrie Eleison, etc. Then the invocation of the Holy Trinity: 'O God the Father of heaven,' etc. Then the invocations of the Saints; then short prayers for deliverance from various sins and dangers, each with the response 'Libera nos,' Good Lord, deliver us; then similar prayers for various blessings, with the response 'Te rogamus,' We beseech Thee. Then the Agnus Dei, the Kyrie, the Lord's Prayer, versicles and responses, and collects.

Litany of 1544.—The putting forth of an English Litany in 1544 was suggested by a failure of the crops in the previous year, which caused a procession to be ordered. From the sketch just given it will be seen that Cranmer followed exactly the scheme of the existing litanies, and the greater part of the English Litany is simply a translation from the Sarum Processional. But Cranmer also introduced a good deal from German sources, and no doubt added something of his own.

The Litany, as brought out in 1544, differed from the present Litany principally in still retaining Invocations of Saints, and in having different prayers at the end. The Invocations were, however, reduced to three. The Litany perhaps shows us Cranmer's literary style at its best. It appears diffuse when compared with the simplicity and transparent clearness of the Latin form which he was translating; but it is far less florid than that of later additions to the Prayer Book. In the Litany he has completely changed the whole rhythm of the Latin by turning several clauses into one. For instance, the first deprecations in the Sarum Litany are—

From all evil : Deliver us, Lord.
From the crafts of the devil : Deliver us, Lord.
From everlasting damnation : Deliver us, Lord.

In Cranmer's version they become :—

From all evil *and mischief*; from sin, from the crafts *and assaults* of the devil; from *Thy wrath*, and from everlasting damnation, Good Lord, deliver us. (Cf. Sarum litany for the dying.)

This clause also affords instances of a peculiar trick of style of which Cranmer was evidently very fond, that of doubling his words without adding anything to the sense; as again in the Confession and Absolution we find 'erred and strayed,' 'devices and desires,' 'declare and pronounce,' 'pardoneth and absolveth,' etc. By such methods he undoubtedly obtained more ornate and varied rhythmical effects, but the nervous force of the Latin is lost, and many find it difficult to fix the attention upon the longer and more ornate periods of the English Litany. On the whole, however, it is perhaps the most successful piece of adaptation that Cranmer produced.

The changes made in the Litany since 1544 are not numerous or interesting. In 1549 it was placed immediately after 'The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass,' and directions are given that it shall be said everywhere on Wednesdays and Fridays (the old Station Days), and that 'though there be none to communicate with the Priest, yet these days (after the Litany ended) the Priest shall put upon him a plain Albe or surplice, with a cope, and say all things at the Altar (appointed to be said at the celebration of the Lord's Supper), until after the Offertory.' Then after one or two collects he was to

dismiss the people with the accustomed blessing. The same was to be done on all other days when there were no communicants. In the Litany itself the Invocations of Saints were omitted, and instead of the six collects which formed the ending in 1544, the service was the same as at present until the prayer of Chrysostom, which was the end. In 1552 the Litany was transferred to its present position, with the heading: 'Here followeth the Litany, to be used upon Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and at other times, when it shall be commanded by the Ordinary.' The special prayers for rain, etc., were placed before the prayer of Chrysostom. The additions and variations in these prayers, as they now belong to Matins rather than to the Litany, will be found noted at the end of the chapter on the Daily Office. In 1559 the clause about the Bishop of Rome was omitted. The petition had hitherto run, 'From all sedition and privy conspiracy [from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities]; from all false doctrine and heresy; from hardness of heart and contempt of thy word and commandment.' The petition for the Queen was adorned with its present embellishments: it had previously run, 'That it may please thee to keep Edward the Sixth, thy servant, our King and Governor.' The prayers for the Queen and the Clergy were introduced before the prayer of Chrysostom, and 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ' after it; and the occasional prayers, with the addition of 'O God whose nature and property,' followed. In 1604 the petition for the Royal Family, 'That it may please thee to bless and preserve our gracious Queen Anne, Prince Henry, and the rest of the King and Queen's royal issue,' was added, as well as the prayer for the Royal Family at the end. In 1661 the present heading was prefixed, and the words, 'and rebellion,' 'and schism,' were added to the petition printed above; the words, 'Bishops, Pastors, and Ministers of the Church,' were changed to 'Bishops, Priests, and Deacons'; the present rubric was prefixed to the Lord's Prayer, and it was printed in full; previously 'And deliver us from evil, Amen' only was said as a response by the people; 'Priest' was twice put instead of 'the Versicle'; and the prayers for the King and Royal Family and the Clergy were removed to the end of Matins.

Special attention must be called to the table of Liturgies which follows. It gives in parallel columns, first, the order of the earliest extant Liturgy, that of the Apostolic Constitutions; secondly, the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom, which is used by all the Orthodox Eastern Churches; thirdly, the Roman Liturgy, which is used in almost all Churches of the Roman obedience; and fourthly, the first English Liturgy. A careful comparison will show how closely all these typical liturgies resemble each other in the spirit and order of the service.

THE

The Apostolic Constitutions.	*The Liturgy of S. Chrysostom.*

MISSA CATECHUMENORUM

§ i.

A. [*Approach to the Altar.* This is not described in the Ap. Const.]	A. [The service of the Prothesis takes place before the service proper begins.] Litany, said by Deacon.
	Introit, consisting of three antiphons, with a prayer after each.
B. *Instruction.* Originally at least three lessons, one from the Old Testament.	B. 'Little Entrance,' *i.e.* procession with book of the Gospels. Choir sings Trisagion. Prayer. Epistle. Alleluia sung. Prayer. Gospel.
C. *Prayers for and Dismissal of Catechumens.* Of great length in early Liturgies.	C. Bidding Prayer. Prayer for Catechumens and Dismissal.

MISSA FIDELIUM

§ ii. Preparatory Prayers.

D. *Prayers of the Faithful.*	D. Two prayers.
E. [*Creed*, not in Ap. Const. Introduced towards end of fifth century.]	H. Offertory, *i.e.* 'Great Entrance': the gifts which have been prepared at the Prothesis are borne in procession to the altar, while the choir sing a hymn called Cherubicum. Incense and many prayers.
F. *The Pax.*	[G. The Lavabo has already taken place at the Prothesis.]
G. *The Lavabo.*	F. The kiss of peace.
H. *The Offertory.*	E. The Creed.

LITURGY.

The Roman Liturgy.	*The English Liturgy of* 1549.
A. Ps. Judica.	A.
Confiteor. Mutual confession of priest and ministers.	
Prayers, including in Sarum use the Lord's Prayer and Collect for purity.	Lord's Prayer. Collect for purity.
The above are the private devotions of the priest.	
Introit. Psalm sung as the priest approaches the altar.	Introit.
Kyrie Eleison. Originally the end of a Litany.	Lord have mercy.
Gloria in Excelsis.	Gloria in Excelsis.
Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.	The Lord be with you. Let us pray.
Collect.	Collect.
B. Epistle.	B. Epistle.
Gradual and Alleluia (or Tract). Sometimes Sequence.	
Gospel.	Gospel.
[Homily.]	
E. Creed.	E. Creed.
D. 'Oremus,' with no prayer following.	Homily or Sermon.
H. Offertory. The gifts are placed on the altar, with several prayers, said privately by the priest, ending with the Secret. The psalm called the 'Offertory' has become a single verse.	H. Offertory. The elements and alms are placed on the altar, and a sentence is said, but no prayers are specified.
G. Lavabo takes place as soon as the gifts have been presented.	

The Apostolic Constitutions.	*The Liturgy of S. Chrysostom.*

§ iii. The Anaphora.

J. Thanksgiving.	J. Thanksgiving.
(*a*) 'The grace of our Lord,' etc., 2 Cor. xiii. 14.	(*a*) ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου . .
(*b*) Sursum corda, etc.	(*b*) ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας . . .
(*c*) The Preface, 'It is very meet and right,' etc. Very long in Ap. Const. Originally extempore.	(*c*) The Preface. ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον . . .
(*d*) The Sanctus.	(*d*) Αγιος . . . εὐλογήμενος . . . ὡσαννά . . .
K. The Consecration.	K. (*a*) μετὰ τούτων καὶ ἡμεῖς . . .
(*a*) Commemoration of the work of Redemption.	
(*b*) Narrative of the Institution.	(*b*) ὃς ἐλθὼν καὶ πᾶσαν . . .
(*c*) The Great Oblation.	(*c*) Μεμνημένοι τοίνυν . . . τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέρομεν . . .
(*d*) The Epiklesis, or Invocation of the Holy Spirit.	(*d*) . . . κατάπεμψον τὸ Πνεῦμα σοῦ . . . καὶ ποίησον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον . . . σῶμα . . . μεταβαλὼν τῷ Πνεύματί σου . . .
L. The Great Intercession.	L. ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι . . . (all faithful departed, B.V.M. [diptychs of dead read]. Saints, Church, emperors, all estates of men).
M. [The Lord's Prayer. For some unknown reason not in Ap. Const. Otherwise universal.]	M. Πάτερ ἡμῶν . . ., with Preface and Embolismos.

The Roman Liturgy.	*The English Liturgy of* 1549.
J. Thanksgiving. Dominus vobiscum, etc.	J. Thanksgiving. The Lord be with you, etc.
(*b*) Sursum corda, etc.	(*b*) 'Lift up your hearts,' etc.
(*c*) The Preface. 'Vere dignum et justum est . . .'	(*c*) The Preface. 'It is very meet, right,' etc.
(*d*) Sanctus . . . Benedictus . . . Hosanna . . .	(*d*) Holy, holy . . . Blessed be he . . . Hosanna . . .
Canon Missae.	
L. Te igitur . . . (the Living). Memento . . .	L. Let us pray . . . Christ's Church. Almighty and everliving God . . . (the Living).
Communicantes . . . (the Saints).	And here we do give unto thee . . . (the Saints).
Hanc igitur oblationem . . .	We commend unto thy mercy . . . (the Dead).
K. (*d*) ? Quam oblationem . . .	K. (*a*) O God, heavenly Father . . .
	(*d*) Hear us (O merciful Father)... with thy Holy Spirit... bless...these thy gifts...
K. (*b*) Qui pridie quam pateretur...	(*b*) Who in the same night . . .
(*c*) Unde et memores . . . Supra quae propitio . . .	(*c*) Wherefore, O Lord . . . we . . . do . . . make . . . the memorial which thy Son . . .
(*d*) ? Supplices te rogamus . . . jube haec perferri per manus sancti Angeli tui . . .	
L. Memento etiam (the Dead) Nobis quoque peccatoribus . . . (the Living and the Saints).	
O. (*c*) Per quem haec omnia (Consignation).	
M. Praeceptis salutaribus . . . Pater noster . . .	M. As our Saviour Christ . . . Our Father . .

The Apostolic Constitutions.	*The Liturgy of S. Chrysostom.*
§ iv. The Communion.	
N. Preparation of Communicants.	N. Inclination and prayer.
O. [Ritual Preparation. Manual acts.	O. Manual acts.
(*a*) Elevation.	(*a*) Elevation. τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις . . .
(*b*) Fraction.	(*b*) Fraction.
(*c*) Consignation.	(*c*) Consignation.
(*d*) Commixture. No directions in Ap. Const.]	(*d*) Commixture. Infusion of Ζέσω.
P. Communion.	P. Communion. τὸ τίμιον . . . σῶμα
Q. Thanksgiving.	Q. Benediction and short thanksgiving.
R. Dismissal.	R. ἐν εἰρήνῃ προέλθωμεν . . .

The Roman Liturgy.	*The English Liturgy of* 1549.
O. Manual acts.	No directions about the manual acts.
(*b*) Fraction. (*c*) Consignation with the last words of embolismus. Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum. (*d*) Commixture, followed by Agnus Dei . . .	The peace of the Lord be alway with you, etc.
F. The Pax. Pax tecum. Et cum spiritu tuo.	
N. Domine Jesu Christe . . . Perceptio Corporis tui . . .	N. You that do truly . . . Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words. Prayer of Humble Access.
P. Communion. Corpus Domini nostri . . . (If the people communicate, Confiteor and Absolution.) Ablutions with prayers. 'Communio,' an antiphon.	P. Communion. 'The Body of our Lord.' 'O Lamb of God' sung.
Q. 'Postcommunio,' a variable collect. (In Sarum a thanksgiving before ablutions.)	Q. 'Postcommunion,' a sentence. Almighty and everliving God . . .
R. 'Ite missa est,' or 'Benedicamus Domino,' or 'Requiescant in pace.' Placeat tibi Sancta Trinitas.' Benediction. In principio erat Verbum . . .	R. The peace of God . . .

CHAPTER III

THE DAILY OFFICE

Daily Prayer.—The custom of daily public prayer has held so conspicuous a place in the history of the Church that it has sometimes been supposed that it must date from the very earliest times. No doubt the Christians of the first age were instant in prayer; and it may be taken for granted that they often united, as occasion might arise, in acts of common worship. But the only regular and public meetings of the earliest days of which we have any information were those connected with the celebration of the Eucharist. These meetings took place at least on the first day of every week. They were preceded from very early times by a long vigil service, which originally perhaps lasted through the whole night, as it did when S. Paul was at Troas (Acts xx. 7-11).

The Vigils.—The origin of the vigil has been traced with much probability to the belief current in the Early Church that the second coming of our Lord would take place in the night before Easter Day. Hence it was regarded as the duty of the faithful to watch through the whole of that night; and it is thought that the custom was extended to the eves of all the Sundays in the year. In the case of the ordinary Sundays, however, the vigil soon assumed the form of a service beginning at cock-crow. Thus in Pliny's letter the Christians are said to meet before dawn on a stated day, and to sing alternately a hymn to Christ as God. Perhaps it was to preserve the primitive idea of a service lasting all night that the faithful met on the evening before at the hour of the lighting of the lamps. After their devotions they

separated, and met again at cockcrow. In Syria, at the beginning of the fourth century, a further division of the morning service took place, certain fixed psalms and hymns being recited at sunrise. Thus the nocturnal vigil came to approximate very closely to the Vespers, Matins, and Lauds of the Mediæval Church. These services consisted, like those of the Jews, in psalms, lessons, and prayers. In Egypt until the end of the fourth century, at both the evening and morning service, twelve psalms were recited by readers. Two lessons followed, and then the assembly knelt for silent prayer. Then all rose, and the presiding minister prayed aloud. This appears to be the most primitive type of worship.

Other days besides Sunday soon came to have vigils. Like the Jews, the Christians observed two fast days in each week, Wednesday and Friday being substituted for Monday and Thursday. These were called the station days, and public services are mentioned as being held on these days at an early date, sometimes, as in Africa and at Jerusalem, as a preliminary to the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, sometimes, as in Egypt, without a Eucharist. To these days were added also the 'birthdays' of the martyrs—that is, the anniversaries of the days on which they laid down their lives. It was usual to celebrate the Eucharist on such days in the cemeteries where the bodies of the martyrs were laid, and a vigil preceded.

Such were the only public services other than the Eucharist of which there is any evidence during the first three centuries of Christianity—the vigils of Sundays, the station days, and the birthdays of martyrs—these vigils being, moreover, normally a preparation for a Eucharist. They comprised two or three offices practically distinct—an evening, a nightly, and a morning service—but in idea and origin they were one.

Hours of Private Prayer.—It was during the fourth century that an elaborate scheme of daily service came into existence, but to the formation of this scheme another element—the ordinary **private devotions** of the faithful—certainly contributed largely; some think, indeed, that the daily offices grew principally out of private devotions.

It is necessary, therefore, to notice the habits of the Christians with regard to private prayer. It was the custom of pious Jews to pray, like Daniel, three times a day, and this custom was continued by the Christians. The chief divisions of the day, sounded on the public clocks (quae publice resonant), as Tertullian says, supplied natural opportunities. It was the third hour of the day of Pentecost when the Holy Ghost fell upon the assembled disciples; Peter went up upon the housetop to pray about the sixth hour; Peter and John went up into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour. And the Didaché, Clement of Alexandria, Cyprian, and Tertullian all give evidence of the prevalence of this custom. It was probably observed regularly only by the devout, but there can be little doubt that all Christians would consider it their duty to pray at least in the morning and evening. Prayer at midnight is also urged. The Canons of Hippolytus, which probably represent the customs of the Roman Church about the beginning of the third century, prescribe prayers at Terce, Sext, None (*i.e.* the third, sixth, and ninth hours), sunset, midnight, and early morning. There can be no doubt that early Christian practice was influenced by various passages in the Old Testament, such as Ps. lv. 18, 'In the evening, and morning, and at noonday will I pray'; Ps. cxix. 62, 'At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto Thee'; Ps. cxix. 164, 'Seven times a day will I praise Thee.' A Christian significance was also attached to the particular hours: the third hour recalled the descent of the Holy Spirit and the condemnation of our Lord, the sixth hour His crucifixion, and the ninth hour His death.

The First Three Centuries.—Thus during the first three centuries there were established in the Church, on the one hand, regular vigil services on certain days, in one, two, or three parts, and almost always preparatory to the celebration of the Eucharist; and, on the other hand, a regular system of private prayer at stated hours. It cannot be positively asserted that there was a nearer approach than this to a system of daily public non-Eucharistic services. There is, indeed, one piece of evidence that indicates that such daily services did exist.

One of the Canons of Hippolytus, mentioned above, orders presbyters, deacons, and readers, and all the people, to assemble daily in the church at cockcrow, and betake themselves to prayer, reading of the Scripture, and psalms. But, on the other hand, another Canon orders the people to attend the church on all days on which there are prayers, which would imply that the services in question were the vigils spoken of above, and that they were not yet held every day.

The Fourth Century.—In the fourth century the adoption of Christianity as the religion of the Empire brought great changes to the Church in this as in other matters. There was an enormous influx of semi-heathen or indifferent converts, who neglected, as S. Chrysostom complains, even the Sunday Eucharist. At the same time there was a growing tendency among the more devout to separate themselves more decisively from the world, and to embrace, some the solitary life, some the community life, but at all events a more rigidly ascetic and devout standard of practice. They observed, not only singly but in common, the hours of prayer mentioned above. It only remained that they should do this in the churches and under the superintendence of the clergy.

Daily Public Services.—It was no longer necessary for the Christians to abstain from attracting public attention. They were provided with suitable and even magnificent buildings for the exercise of common worship. What could be more natural than that the devout should be encouraged to make use of these buildings as often as possible. This step is first known to have been taken at Antioch about the year 350. Not many years afterwards we hear of the introduction of daily services at Cæsarea by S. Basil, at Milan by S. Ambrose, and at Jerusalem. It is with regard to this last place that we possess the most detailed information. A recently discovered document, the Peregrinatio Silviæ, describes a pilgrimage to the holy places undertaken by a lady of southern Gaul, and contains a minute account of the services at which she was present at Jerusalem. There were four daily services besides the Eucharist in the church of the Anastasis, in the evening, at cockcrow, at Sext, and at

None. They were frequented by the monazontes and parthenæ, that is by persons leading a religious life in a more or less technical sense, and by a certain number of the laity. Priests and deacons presided over the psalmody, and the bishop came in before the end of each service to dismiss the different classes of worshippers. The writer describes a service on Saturday night in which may be traced the blending of the ancient vigil with the new daily office; the former is attended by the faithful in general, the latter by the religious only.

Methods of Chanting.—Together with the introduction of daily offices came a change in the character of the chanting. In the earlier vigils, held probably in small buildings, the psalms were recited by a single voice, and with little or no modulation. It was nearer speaking than singing, so Athanasius said, 'Tam modico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi, ut pronuncianti similior esset quam canenti.' But now, with large buildings and congregations a single voice could no longer assert itself, and the antiphonal method was adopted; that is, the psalms were recited by two choirs singing alternately, and with more elaborate modulations. This method was introduced at Antioch in the middle of the fourth century. S. Basil at Cæsarea and S. Chrysostom at Constantinople followed the example, and the system was further developed by S. Ambrose at Milan.

The Monastic System.—It must not be supposed that services so frequent as those described by Silvia at Jerusalem were soon adopted in all parts of the Church. From this time forward two separate lines of development may be observed. The 'ascetics,' those who wished to lead a life of special devotion, tended more and more to form regular monastic communities, in which regular and frequent hours of prayer were observed, until, in the early part of the sixth century, S. Benedict of Nursia founded his great Order, and the complete system of the Canonical Hours, in all its essential features, was established as a model for the whole Western Church. In this system all the hours already mentioned, that is **Vespers**, **Matins**, and **Lauds**, the three divisions of the ancient vigil, as well as the three day hours—**Terce**, **Sext**,

and **None**—were included, and two others were added, of specially monastic origin—**Prime** and **Compline**. The institution of the former has been ascribed to the monks of Bethlehem, at the end of the fourth century. They used to retire for a short period of rest after Matins and Lauds were over, and in order that the day might begin anew with prayer a supplementary Matins service was held. Compline arose in a similar way. Vespers had come to be said before the evening meal, and then, that there might be prayer immediately before sleep, Compline was said in the dormitory. It is first mentioned in the Rule of S. Benedict. Prime and Compline, as will be shown later on, have always retained certain characteristic marks of their monastic origin. Thus the cycle of the hours was complete. To conform to the Psalmist's words, 'Seven times a day will I praise thee,' Matins was now reckoned as a nocturnal service, and the others formed the seven day hours.

Parish Churches.—Meanwhile in the episcopal and parish churches, under the superintendence of the secular clergy, a system of daily services was more gradually growing up. The final result was, except in details, the same as that reached in the monasteries, but the process was slower and to a great extent independent. When once daily services had been introduced into the churches, the clergy would naturally be expected to continue them, and not to fall behind the monks in the matter of devotion. And so the daily office, like the obligation to celibacy, was a sort of legacy to the clergy from asceticism. We find this duty recognised both in the East and the West. A decree of the Emperor Justinian, in the year 529, orders that all the clergy attached to each church shall sing Vespers, Matins, and Lauds themselves, and not leave the duty to be fulfilled by others. So in Gaul and Spain, various councils during the sixth century order Vespers and Matins to be sung daily, and to be followed by prayers to be said by the bishop or priests. At Rome daily vigils were established later than elsewhere. But in the sixth century there is evidence that they were regarded as a duty binding on the clergy, and in a form of oath taken by the 'suburbicarian'

bishops, that is the bishops of the districts in and about Rome, and dating from the sixth or seventh century, a promise is made by the bishop to say daily vigils in church with all his clergy from cockcrow to daybreak. The recitation of the day hours by the clergy is not yet mentioned, nor at Rome is Vespers yet observed as a public office. Still even the obligation to say daily Matins from cockcrow to sunrise was found onerous by those clergy who were engaged in full parish work.

Monasteries attached to Churches.—A natural way of lightening the burden was found in the establishment of colleges of monks in connection with the great churches, who should be responsible for the daily services. The first of these monasteries was founded by S. Leo (440-461). Others followed by slow degrees, for the secular clergy in Rome were exceedingly jealous of monks, but at the end of the eighth century we have a list of nineteen such monasteries attached to the great churches. The monks in them were really canons rather than monks, although the name 'canon' was not yet used. They probably in all cases added the recitation of the three day hours to that of the clerical Matins. In the first half of the eighth century the addition of Vespers is mentioned, and in the second half that of Prime. Compline was still said as a purely monastic office in the dormitory.

The Roman Chant.—During the same period, from the fifth to the eighth centuries, the arrangement of the offices and the method of singing them underwent a considerable and probably a gradual change, about which no detailed information is extant. Tradition, indeed, ascribes the foundation of the Roman manner of singing, the 'cantilena Romana,' and of the 'scolae cantorum,' or bodies of singers by whom the musical parts of the services were sung, to Gregory the Great (595-610). But both institutions appear to have been of gradual growth, and in everything connected with the arrangement and performance of the offices the great churches at Rome, with the monasteries attached to them, and especially the church of S. Peter, exercised a predominant influence. Moreover, it was exactly at this period, when the Roman

system was approaching its perfection, that the influence of Rome, and above all of S. Peter's, was at its highest in the West. It was an age of pilgrimage, and as Jerusalem, under Mohammedan rule, was practically inaccessible, the tombs of the Apostles at Rome were the great object of this sort of devotion. The pilgrims who thronged the basilica of S. Peter naturally carried home with them the desire of introducing similar services at their own homes. Nowhere was the influence of Rome in this matter more felt than in England. No people went on pilgrimage to the thresholds of the Apostles more eagerly than the English. And among other things they brought back the Roman chant. Benedict Biscop, in the seventh century, made five journeys to Rome, and on returning from one of them he brought back with him no less a person than John, the arch-chanter of the Church of S. Peter, and abbot of the monastery of S. Martin, to teach in the newly founded monastery of Wearmouth 'the yearly course of singing as it was performed at S. Peter at Rome.' The numerous mentions of church music in Bede show how attractive this cursus canendi was found. Nor can we be surprised at this. The indefatigable labours of the Benedictines of Solesmes have now taught us, after many centuries of decadence, what the Plain Song at the height of its beauty and purity was like, and there may now be heard again in English churches the same exquisite strains that delighted the ears of the Wearmouth monks when John the arch-chanter taught them the course of singing of S. Peter at Rome.

The Roman Office of the Eighth Century.—So it came about that the office thus formed at Rome by the end of the eighth century became with comparatively slight variations the clerical office of the whole Western Church. It was, moreover, now practically complete. The changes made in later centuries were, as will be seen, in the way of accretions, which on the whole greatly diminished its beauty and usefulness. It will be well therefore at this point, when we first have detailed information, to describe at some length the contents and order of the services. It will be seen later on that they

constitute the sole source from which the first English Matins and Evensong were derived.

Explanations.—Before doing this, however, it may be useful to explain a few technical terms. First, **Antiphons** must be distinguished from antiphonal singing. This latter has been already explained. It was simply the method, practised perhaps in very early times, but at all events general from the fourth century onwards, of singing the psalms in alternate choirs. It was opposed to the 'responsary' method, in which the psalm was sung by a single voice, while the choir sang at intervals an *ἀκροστίχιον* or response. An antiphon is a sentence or sentences, taken ordinarily from the psalm itself, and sung before and after the psalm. Originally it was sung more frequently, even between each verse. It often had reference to the season of the church's year, and gave the sense in which the psalm was to be understood. Perhaps it was musical in its origin, and it was so at all events in its use. The first notes of the antiphon indicate the musical mode or key in which the psalm is to be sung, and at the end of the psalm it forms the musical conclusion, more elaborate usually than the tone of the psalm itself. It struck, in fact, the keynote of the psalm, both devotionally and musically. As examples a few of the antiphons to the three last psalms, which were said every day of the year at Lauds, and gave its name to the service, may be mentioned. On ordinary Sundays the antiphon was simply two verses from the psalms themselves: 'Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord: for he spake the word and they were made; he commanded and they were created.' On Mondays: 'O praise the Lord of heaven.' On Tuesdays: 'Praise him in the firmament of his power,' and so on. But on Christmas Day the antiphon was: 'Unto us a child is born: this day: and his name shall be called the Mighty God. Alleluia, Alleluia.' On S. Stephen's Day: 'Behold, I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God.' On S. John's Day: 'If I will that he tarry till I come: what is that to thee? follow thou me.' On Easter Day: 'And the angel answered and said unto the woman, Fear not ye: for I know that ye seek Jesus. Alleluia.' And so on. It will be easily seen how beautiful and edifying a feature of the psalmody these varying antiphons formed. The next term that requires explanation is the **Respond** or response (responsorium). This is not the same as the responsory psalm spoken of above, nor does it mean any answer made by the people. It consists, in its simplest form, of the response proper, a versicle, and a Gloria. The reader sings the response, and the choir repeat it. The reader sings the versicle, and the choir repeat the second half of the response. The reader sings the Gloria, and the choir repeat the whole response. For instance, the Roman response at Compline is as follows:—

R. Into thy hands, O Lord: I commend my spirit.
Chorus. Into thy hands, O Lord: I commend my spirit.

V. For thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, Thou God of truth.
Chorus. I commend my spirit.
Reader. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.
Chorus. Into thy hands, O Lord: I commend my spirit.

Responses were often, however, especially at certain seasons, longer and more elaborate than this. They were, as a rule, composed with extraordinary skill, and formed one of the most beautiful and devotional features of the service. If any one who has access to a Sarum or Roman Breviary will examine the Matins responses for Advent, he will soon convince himself of this fact. The nearest approach to a response now left in the Book of Common Prayer is, 'O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for thy name's sake.' This may be said first by the reader, and then by the people. Then the reader says the versicle, 'O God, we have heard,' and the people repeat the response with a slight change. Then the Gloria, but with the usual answer. This is in its origin an antiphon and psalm, but it now more nearly resembles a response. In either case the way in which the first 'O Lord, arise,' is now said by the people only, instead of Amen, which a rubric in Matins orders to be said at the end of all prayers, is clearly wrong. The term **Capitulum**, or little chapter, also requires a word of explanation. It was a very short lesson from Scripture, and one was read eventually at each of the offices except Matins, thus keeping up the principle of Scripture reading, although the long lections were confined to Matins. The original Capitulum of Prime was, however, quite a different thing. It was a little office by itself, and of purely monastic use. It comprised the Creed, a mutual Confession, readings, prayers, a recitation of the monastic rule, and a benediction by the abbot. It may also be well to remark that several psalms were sometimes said together under one Gloria and antiphon, and reckoned as one, while the divisions of the cxix. psalm into sections of sixteen verses, each counted as one psalm; and that the Old Testament canticles, namely the Benedicite, Isaiah xii., the song of Hezekiah, the song of Hannah, the song of Moses in Exodus xv., the song of Habakkuk, and the song of Moses in Deut. xxxii., one of which was said each day at Lauds, were also reckoned as psalms. Finally, it may be mentioned here that the use of metrical hymns, which were first introduced on any considerable scale by S. Ambrose, formed part of the Benedictine offices from the first, and spread widely in Gaul and Spain, but they were not introduced into the Roman offices until the twelfth century.

Description of the Offices.—The offices may now be described. It will be remembered that they result from the fusion of the Night Hours, Vespers, Matins, and

Lauds, the ancient Vigil, with the Day Hours, Terce, Sext, and None, with the addition of the monastic offices of Prime and Compline. **Vespers** therefore comes first. It began, as did also Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, and None, with the versicle, 'O Lord, make speed to save us,' etc., and the Gloria Patri. Then follow five psalms, each with its antiphon, said in course like the Matins psalms. That is, they were different on each day of the week. The Vesper psalms were from Psalm cx. onwards, omitting those which were appropriated to other hours. After the psalms came the Capitulum, or short lesson, and then, when it was introduced, the hymn, followed by a versicle. Then the Magnificat, with its antiphon. After the Magnificat all knelt and said, 'Lord have mercy,' etc., and the Lord's Prayer. This was followed by the Preces, or short intercessions, which follow the Lord's Prayer in a shortened form in the present English Prayer Book. They are of great antiquity, being found in the Apostolic Constitutions and in another form at the end of the Te Deum. They originally formed the conclusion of the service, but already by the eighth century the custom had arisen of substituting for the Kyrie, the Lord's Prayer, and Preces—on Sundays and holy days only—the Collect for the day. This introduction of the Collect, as a memorial of the Eucharist, was most edifying, but it was a great pity that it was ever allowed to displace the Lord's Prayer from the central point of the service. Eventually the Collect was added to all the week-day services, except Prime and Compline, after the Preces, the Priest rising from his knees and saying additional versicles and the Collect standing. Then the services ended usually with 'The Lord be with you,' etc. 'Bless we the Lord. *R.* Thanks be to God.' 'May the souls of the faithful, through the mercy of God, rest in peace.' The English Prayer Book has improved upon these arrangements by retaining both the Lord's Prayer and the Collect upon all days of the year.

After Vespers came **Compline**. In its early form it was a service of great simplicity. At Rome it began, as no other office did, with a short lesson, no doubt the conclusion of the reading that had taken place during the

evening meal. Then followed the four appropriate and invariable psalms, which have never been changed—the iv., the xxxi., the xci., the cxxxiv. Then the Nunc Dimittis and a prayer. This was all. Later on some additions were made—the Confession and Absolution, the Lord's Prayer and Creed, and the Preces of Prime, and also a Capitulum, Response, and Hymn. These additional parts were not inserted in the same places in the Roman and Sarum service books, and another difference is that the modern Roman Compline is the same for every day in the year, while the Sarum has twenty-two different forms for the various seasons.

Matins was the longest service, and consisted almost entirely of psalms and lessons. It began with 'O Lord, open thou our lips,' etc., followed by 'O Lord, make speed to save us,' etc., and a Gloria, as at the other services. Then came the Venite. This was a psalmus responsorius, that is, the psalm was recited by the reader, and the choir sang an 'invitatory' at the beginning and end, and between each of the verses. After the Venite a hymn was afterwards added. Then came twelve psalms, with a Gloria, and eventually an antiphon also, after each four. Then three Scripture lessons, each followed by a 'response' as described above. So far Matins was the same for every day in the week. But on Sundays there were added to this, which was called the first Nocturn, two more Nocturns, each consisting of three psalms, three lessons, and three responses. So that on Sundays there were eighteen psalms, nine lessons, and nine responses, on week-days twelve psalms, three lessons, and three responses. The additional Sunday lessons were not taken from Scripture, but from the writings of the Fathers. The psalms were none of them fixed psalms, but were said in course, from the i. to the cix., the remainder being appropriated to Vespers. Those psalms which were said as fixed psalms at the other hours were omitted. According to the Benedictine rule, on Sundays, instead of the ninth response the Te Deum was said, except during penitential seasons. It formed a very appropriate transition from Matins to Lauds, but it was not introduced at Rome until after the eighth century.

At daybreak **Lauds** began. It closely resembled Vespers in structure. Only the Benedictus took the place of the Magnificat, and the psalms were fixed psalms. As at Vespers, they were five in number. The first on Sunday was Ps. xciii., 'The Lord is King,' on week days Ps. li., 'Have mercy on me.' The second was different on each day of the week. The third was Ps. lxiii. and Ps. lxvii., 'O God, thou art my God,' and 'God be merciful unto us,' said as one psalm. The fourth was one of the seven Old Testament canticles mentioned above, the fifth, from which the service had its name, was the three last psalms. Except the psalms and the Benedictus, Lauds exactly resembled Vespers.

Prime, like Compline, was in the eighth century still said in the dormitory. It was concluded by the Capitulum described above. It was assimilated afterwards to some extent to the other day hours, but always retained special characteristics. The psalms of Prime in the Sarum use were xxii. to xxvi., liv., cxviii., and two sections of cxix., these last two being always said. The *Quicunque Vult* was introduced into the Roman from the Gallican use as an additional psalm, and in the Sarum use it was said every day. The Apostles' Creed, a Confession and Absolution, special Preces, and a special Collect, not that of the day, remained from the monastic Capitulum.

The three day hours, **Terce**, **Sext**, and **None**, had exactly the same structure. They began, like Lauds and Vespers, with 'O Lord, make speed to save us,' etc. Then, when it was added, came the hymn. Then three psalms, or rather three sections, each of sixteen verses, of Ps. cxix. In the eighth century there were no antiphons; afterwards there was one antiphon, which seldom varied, for the three psalms. Then a Capitulum, a response, the Kyrie, and the Lord's Prayer. The Collect for the day was never used in the eighth century, but afterwards the end of these offices was assimilated to that of Vespers and Lauds.

Such were the ordinary Sunday and week-day offices throughout the year. They provided for the complete

recitation of the whole Psalter every week, while the cxix. Psalm, the Compline psalms, and most of the Lauds psalms were said every day. In the course of the year a considerable part of the Bible was used at Matins, and it was supplemented on Sundays by homilies from the writings of the Fathers. This regular course of psalmody and reading was but little interfered with by the seasons of the Church's year, which were distinguished mainly by appropriate antiphons and responses. The responses for the Advent season were pre-eminent for their beauty, and those of Lent were not much inferior. The antiphons to the Magnificat on the seven days before Christmas Eve, called the great antiphons, or the seven O's (*O Sapientia* is still marked in the English Kalendar), may serve as an example of the way in which the ordinary Offices took the tone of the season. The services for the last three days of Holy Week were exceptional, and on the eves of Easter and Pentecost vigil services of the ancient type were retained, consisting of a long series of lections from Scripture, with appropriate responses. The ordinary Matins were not however omitted on these days, but were much shortened, there being only three psalms, three lessons, and three responses. On the other great Feasts, Christmas, Epiphany, Ascension, the ordinary first Nocturn was shortened by reducing the number of psalms to three, so that there were altogether nine psalms, nine lessons, and nine responses.

History of Saints' Days.—But now a new element has to be considered. Nothing has as yet been said about the observance of **Saints' Days**. The system described above makes no provision for any special observance of such days, and when the commemoration of Saints was introduced into the daily Offices, it formed an adventitious element which interfered, ultimately to a most serious extent, with the regular course of psalmody and reading. In order to make it clear how this came about, it will be necessary to trace shortly the history of the manner in which Saints were commemorated from the earliest times. It is not necessary to enlarge upon the reverence which was paid in the days of persecution to those who

laid down their lives for the faith. Their birthdays, natalicia, were celebrated, as has been mentioned above, by a vigil and the holy sacrifice. Already in the year 155 the people of Smyrna, describing the martyrdom of S. Polycarp, state that they had gathered his bones, and laid them in a place 'where the Lord will permit us to gather ourselves together . . . and to celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom.' There is abundance of evidence of the prevalence of this custom. But it did not for a long time affect the ordinary services of the Church. The birthday of a martyr was not, like a modern Saint's Day, celebrated everywhere, but only at the actual place where his bones were laid. It was a purely local observance. Consequently the monastic communities. until the time of S. Benedict, do not appear to have kept Saints' Days at all, and in their system of daily services no place was reserved for them. At Rome, where the martyrs were buried in the cemeteries outside the walls of the city, churches were built over the actual tombs for the commemorative services. The ordinary churches within the walls were not named after Saints, but bore the names of their founders, and the Saints were not commemorated in them. This state of things was put an end to by external circumstances. During the centuries of confusion which followed the capture of Rome by Alaric in 410, the churches and tombs of the martyrs were often destroyed and often rendered inaccessible. It was a natural thing to transfer the observance of the 'birthday' of a martyr to a church within the walls, and equally natural that this church should in the course of time take his name and receive his relics. The commemorations remained, however, purely local, that is, attached to particular churches, until the end of the eighth century, when, just at the moment when the services of S. Peter's were becoming the model for Western Europe, the observance of all Saints' Days by additional services became the practice of that church. These additional services soon became fused with the ordinary services of the day. The feasts were divided into greater and lesser feasts. The lesser feasts, like modern 'simples,' were principally distinguished by

proper antiphons and verses, and did not interfere with the regular course of psalmody. But on the greater feasts the psalms of Sunday were always used at Lauds and Vespers, and the psalms for the day omitted. At Matins the fusion was not made so soon. At first the Matins of the Saint was additional, then alternative, and finally it displaced the Matins of the day. In the case of a few chief feasts a double Matins lasts until the twelfth century, but disappears in the thirteenth, leaving only the name of 'Double' as a title of the principal feasts. The effect of these interruptions of the ordinary services will be commented on later, but when the system began, in the ninth century, the number of Saints' Days was not very large. There were about ninety in the Roman Calendar, and as some of these were 'minor' feasts, the interruption of the regular course was not very great. Most of the Saints commemorated were actually buried in the cemeteries around Rome, and the rest had in almost all cases some special local connection. The Offices of the Saints were after the model of Christmas. At Matins there were nine psalms, lessons, and responses, and special antiphons with the Sunday psalms at the other Offices. In the case of a few of the principal days, the lessons and other special parts were taken from Scripture, but in other cases from the Acts of the Saint, and in this way apocryphal legends found their way into the Office and in later days brought it into much discredit. In the eighth century they formed a very small part of the whole.

The Divine Office changed.—We have studied the 'Divine Office' as it was in its golden age. It appears to have remained substantially the same at Rome from the eighth to the twelfth centuries. It is true that a great change has been traditionally ascribed to Pope Gregory VII. (1073-1087), but this view is not supported by evidence. The extant decrees seem to shew that he merely confirmed the existing Office. Elsewhere, however, changes and additions were creeping in, to a great extent from Gallican sources. The change becomes visible in the twelfth century, when authorised '**Breviaries**' first made their appearance. The great number of

books required for the complete recitation of the daily Office must have caused great inconvenience, and it is perhaps somewhat surprising that attempts were not made at an earlier date to compress them into a single work. It was not until the end of the eleventh century that the first real Breviary is found to exist. During the twelfth century Breviaries came into common use, but they appear to have been intended for the private use of priests or monks when travelling, and not for use in choir. Hence their contents were abridged as far as possible, but on the other hand they contained many devotions hitherto unknown in public worship. The friars in the thirteenth century, who were from the nature of their lives unable to own or to carry about many books, made special use of these compressed forms, and the Franciscan Breviary was sanctioned by the pope in 1241. Before very long its use became practically universal, and it displaced the older Office books even from the choirs of churches. This was a most momentous change. The new Office differed greatly from the old, especially in the following points:—

i. There was much **abbreviation**, especially in the lessons. The amount of Scripture read was thus greatly reduced.

ii. The Calendar was enlarged by the addition of a great number of **Saints' Days** and other holy days. This, as has been explained above, caused a continual interruption of the regular course of reading and psalmody. Moreover, the new Saints' Day lessons were taken from the Acts of the Saints, and they were often of an apocryphal and unedifying character.

iii. Many **additional devotions** were introduced. The Pater and Ave were said privately at the beginning of all the Offices, and after Lauds and Vespers there were a number of 'memorials.' The Penitential and Gradual psalms were said in rotation at all the hours. An Office of the Virgin was added, at first as a voluntary addition, to the regular Office, and an Office of the Dead, originally used at funerals and on special occasions, came to be said daily. Metrical hymns, also, which were first introduced by S. Ambrose, and which were always used by the

Benedictines, now formed part of the Roman Office, to which they had been hitherto unknown, and so became universal in the West.

Evil Effects of the Changes.—The general effect of these changes was to make the recital of the daily Office far more burdensome and difficult. If all the additions were used, the length of the services was so great as to occupy an inordinate amount of time. The great multiplication of Saints' Days had three results. It interrupted the regular course of reading and psalmody to such an extent that 'commonly, when any Book of the Bible was begun, after three or four chapters were read out, all the rest were unread,' and a few psalms 'have been daily said (and oft repeated), and the rest utterly omitted.' Secondly, it introduced from the lives of the Saints 'many things, whereof some be untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious.' Thirdly, it made the Office so complicated, that 'to turn the book only was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out.' It is not surprising that the Councils of the fifteenth century protest against the hurry, the irreverence, the negligence with which the Divine Office was treated.

Recapitulation.—The changes which have been spoken of were of such importance, and the interval which separates the mediæval Offices from those of the eighth century is so great, that it will be well, even at the cost of some repetition, to recapitulate the main stages of the history that has been sketched. It has been seen that the essential principle of the daily Offices was the continuous and frequent recitation of the Psalter and the regular and continuous reading of Scripture. The number and arrangement of the daily Offices was fixed gradually in the course of centuries by the combination of different systems of public and private worship, but for a long time everything was made strictly subservient to the principle just mentioned. All other elements formed but the framework in which the Psalter and the Scripture lessons were set. When the system was completed, the general result was that all the psalms were

recited at least once every week, while some were recited every day, and in the course of the year a very large part of the Scriptures was read through. The antiphons, responds, and hymns formed a setting of the greatest beauty, which served especially to adapt the substance of the services to the seasons of the Church's year, and the inculcation of the great doctrines of the Christian religion. This system was broken up between the eighth and twelfth centuries by two things, first, the progressive multiplication of Saints' Days, which continually interrupted the regular 'course,' and secondly, by large additions, some good in themselves, some less edifying, but all foreign to the main principle. Thus in the Middle Ages the Offices in use laboured under four great defects: first, they no longer provided for the continuous recitation of the Psalter or reading of Scripture; secondly, they were far too long; thirdly, they were inordinately complex and difficult; and fourthly, they contained many doubtful and apocryphal legends. Some trenchant reform was imperatively required.

Attempts at Reform.—The first attempt at reform came with the opening years of the sixteenth century. At that time the court of Rome was devoted before everything else to the study of classical Latinity. The cultivated prelates who were the children of the Renaissance, disliked, no doubt, both the length and the complexity of the Breviary which they were supposed to recite, but they were probably still more disturbed by the reflection that it was bad for their Latin prose. It was determined to produce a Breviary 'far shorter and easier and purged from every error.' The work was begun, but it was stopped by the capture of Rome by Charles v. in 1527. Perhaps it was quite as well. The only part accomplished was a Hymnary, severely classical in metre and diction, and not without merit, but assigning too conspicuous a part to Olympus, Styx, Phœbus, and the like. It is difficult to conjecture how the psalms might have been dealt with on similar principles. The next attempt at reform, however, took quite a different and a more auspicious direction. It ultimately resulted in the

formation of the Offices of Matins and Evensong now contained in the Book of Common Prayer.

Breviary of Quignonez.—In 1529 Pope Clement VII. intrusted the work of preparing a new Breviary to Francis Quignonez, a Franciscan monk, created a cardinal in the same year—a Spaniard of austere culture, and sympathetic with reform. In the year 1535, when Paul III. had ascended the papal throne, he had with the assistance of some other learned Spaniards, accomplished his task. His treatment of the Breviary was certainly drastic. He expounds the principles on which he worked in his preface, much of which still remains incorporated in the preface to the Book of Common Prayer. They were, first, to restore the weekly recitation of the psalms, and the continuous reading of Scripture; secondly, to simplify the rubrics; thirdly, to eliminate what was legendary or unedifying. He therefore swept away entirely all versicles, capitula, and responds, a large number of hymns, and by far the greater part of all the readings that were not taken directly from the Bible. At first he intended to abolish antiphons also, but some of these were restored. The ancient hours were left unchanged, but the distribution of the psalms was entirely altered. Instead of a large number of psalms in course at Matins, and fixed psalms recited every day at most of the other hours, three psalms were allotted to each of the hours, so arranged as to be as nearly as possible of the same aggregate length, the necessary number being made up by dividing the longer psalms. Every psalm was thus always said once and only once in every week. There were three lessons read every day; one always from the Old Testament, and one always from the New; the third lesson on a Saints' Day was still the 'legend' of the Saint, and on other days which had a special Gospel, it was a homily on the Gospel; otherwise it was a chapter from the Acts or Epistles. The Saints' Days, or those that were left, for they were greatly diminished in number, were all reduced to the same rank, and did not interfere with the daily 'course,' being only marked by a special invitatory, hymn, third lesson, and collect.

Later History of the Roman Breviary.—The principles of the Breviary of Quignonez were adopted and carried even further in detail by the English reformers, but the main part of the work was already done. Before, however, tracing the steps which came between this book and the English Matins and Evensong, a few words may be said on the later history of the Roman Breviary. It does not properly concern our subject, for the changes made since the first half of the sixteenth century have had no influence on the Book of Common Prayer, but it illustrates at all events a widespread recognition in the Roman Church of the fact that the mediæval Breviary required modification. The book of Quignonez passed through many editions, and was widely used, especially in Spain. The sweeping character, however, of the changes made by it provoked a reaction, and in 1558 its use was prohibited by Paul IV. This pope was anxious, nevertheless, to effect a reform of the Breviary on strictly conservative lines, and he impressed his views on the Council of Trent, which intrusted the work to his successor Pius IV. The revised book appeared under Pius V. in 1568. The changes were of a very moderate character. A third part of the lessons was always to be taken from Scripture. Sundays were given greater precedence over Saints' Days. The Penitential and Gradual psalms were only to be said once a week in Lent, instead of every day. The Office of the Virgin was to be said only once a week, and the Office of the Dead once a month. The 'legends' were somewhat sparingly weeded, and the number of Saints' Days was diminished. The Vulgate version was used in this edition, but not for the first time. The addition of the General Rubrics made the book more easy to use. This Breviary of Pius V. is substantially that which is still in use in the Roman Church, the alterations made under Clement VIII. in 1602 and Urban VIII. in 1632 being of no very great importance. The desire for a more sweeping reform had not, however, died out, especially in France. A Breviary was published in 1680, in which all the antiphons and responds were taken from Scripture, and a great number of legends suppressed;

and in 1736 Charles de Vintimille, the archbishop of Paris, brought out a Breviary which reproduced the most important features of that of Quignonez. This book was condemned by Pope Benedict XIV., but it long continued in use. It stimulated, apparently, Benedict XIV. to attempt a reform on his own account, and a committee sat for six years and prepared a scheme which was however not sanctioned. The authorised Breviary has remained as Urban VIII. left it.

Cranmer's Schemes.—We must now resume the history of Quignonez' Breviary. This, as has been said, was published in 1535. Eight years afterwards Cranmer announced in Convocation that the king would have a new service book, and either a committee was appointed to prepare one, or Cranmer went to work on his own account. Two schemes of daily service have lately been discovered, which shew how he set about this portion of his task. He would naturally have recourse to Quignonez' book, which was inspired by exactly the same principles as his own, and was authorised for use in the Roman Church. The first scheme evidently dates from Henry VIII.'s reign, and it is, as might be expected, a very close copy of Quignonez. No fresh alteration of any importance is suggested. The ancient hours and the Latin language are retained. The scheme of the psalms is not given, but there are indications that three were to be said at each hour. Special psalms are provided for the last three days of Holy Week. One antiphon is allowed for each hour, and the Gloria Patri is said after every psalm. Three lessons are assigned to Matins, and in addition there is one from the Sapiential books at Lauds before the Benedictus, and one at Vespers after the Magnificat. On Saints' Days the legend of the Saint was read after preces at Prime. So far Cranmer had introduced no fresh idea. But in the second scheme, drawn up probably very early in Edward VI.'s reign, three most important novelties make their appearance. The first is the reduction of the hours of prayer to two, Matins and Evensong. The reasons given for this change are that the complete scheme of hours caused too much repetition, and that it had long become

customary to come together for prayer only twice a day. The second change follows upon the first. With only two services a day it would not be possible to recite the Psalter in a week without making the services very long. They are therefore to be said once a month. Exactly three psalms are still assigned to each Office, the number being made up by subdividing the cxix. and eight others. The third change is the partial introduction of the English language, the Lord's Prayer and the lessons being in English, and the rest in Latin. At Matins there were three lessons, and on Sundays and Saints' Days a fourth, being a homily or legend. At Vespers there were two. The Old Testament was to be read through once a year, and the New Testament three times, and in the arrangement of the lessons the calendar year takes the place of the ecclesiastical. The reading was quite continuous, the Sunday lessons not being introduced until 1559. Besides these two schemes, two calendars and three tables of lessons have been found. The special interest of these documents consists in the fact that they shew how gradually and continuously the Offices of Matins and Evensong were derived from the ancient Offices, and that they also shew that the work was practically completed in Henry VIII.'s reign, before the time when it is commonly supposed to have been begun.

Daily Offices for the Laity.—The most important steps towards the restoration and simplification of the Offices were taken by Quignonez, who, more than any other single man, must be regarded as the father of our daily Offices. But one very important idea seems to have originated in the English Church, though we cannot be sure to whose mind it first occurred. This was the idea of making the daily Offices really available for the mass of Christian people, and not for the clergy and religious and a few pious laymen only. The attempt to do this was a new thing in the history of the Church. It will have been seen from the foregoing sketch that probably at no time or place, except possibly in very early days, had these offices been habitually attended by large numbers of the laity. When the system reached

its complete form it was obviously impossible for men engaged in the ordinary business of life to recite the Offices habitually. In the Middle Ages many of the clergy found or thought they found it impossible to do so without hurry and irreverence. Quignonez, in his reforms, had, it is stated, 'homines occupati' in view, as well as the clergy and monks; but although a pious layman might have found Quignonez' offices possible as private devotions, it was clearly impossible for him to attend church seven times a day. But Cranmer and those who acted with him did think that the laity as well as the clergy might well recite two short offices in church every day. The subsequent history of the English Church affords a melancholy commentary on the manner in which a religious community may neglect and despise its own ideal, but it cannot be denied that the thought was good and noble.

Obligation of the Daily Office.—The idea of universal daily Offices is dwelt upon in the Prayer Book in the strongest manner. The words 'daily throughout the year' are conspicuous in every title of the Offices. In the present book this is emphasised again and again. The book of 1549 makes daily recitation obligatory in all places of public worship, but does not impose any rule for private recitation. It was clearly intended that all to whom it was possible should attend church, and it was probably thought that many of the clergy would continue to recite in private the ancient forms. But in the revision of 1552 the Offices are ordered to be said in private by those of the clergy who cannot go to church. It is true that a loophole of escape was allowed to those clergy who were not parish priests by admitting such excuses as preaching and study of divinity, but this was taken away in the last revision, and now no exception is permitted except in the case of 'sickness or some other urgent cause.' But perhaps it is the preface which speaks most strongly. Here the great reason assigned for changing the ancient services is the restoration of the continuous recitation of the psalms and reading of the Scriptures, which had been liable to great interruptions in the Middle Ages. To omit the

week day services is therefore not only to interrupt, but to destroy, that which it was the main purpose of the Book of Common Prayer to restore. Finally it is ordered in the most definite terms that 'the Psalter shall be read through, once every month,' and that the Old and New Testaments 'shall be read' a certain number of times in the course of every year. Those who are bound to be loyal to the Book of Common Prayer can hardly commit an act of greater unfaithfulness both to its letter and to its spirit than by the omission of the daily Office.

Daily Offices of 1549.—The Matins and Evensong of the book of 1549 differ from the second of the two draft schemes described above, and shew the influence of a German form of Matins and Vespers. There was no Ornaments' rubric. The first direction was, 'The priest being in the quire shall begin with a loud voice the Lord's Prayer, called the Paternoster.' Hitherto this had been merely a private devotion before all the offices. Then followed 'O Lord, open thou,' etc., the beginning of the old Matins, and 'O God, make speed,' etc., which began the other Offices, then the Gloria Patri, and 'Praise ye the Lord,' and from Easter to Trinity, 'Hallelujah.' Then the Venite, without Invitatory, and the psalms and lessons, almost exactly as at present. A rubric which was omitted in 1661 directed that, 'to the end the people may the better hear, in such places where they do sing, there shall the lessons be sung to a plain tune after the manner of distinct reading: and likewise the Epistle and Gospel.' This is an excellent description of the proper method of executing the old Plain Song intonations. After the first lesson came the Te Deum, except in Lent, when Benedicite was to be used. After the second lesson Benedictus. Then followed 'Lord have mercy,' etc., the Creed, as at Prime, and the Lord's Prayer. This was said by the Minister in a loud voice, the people responding with the last clause, 'But deliver us from evil, Amen.' The priest then said the preces, still kneeling, and then standing up he said, '*Let us pray,*' and the three collects, that for the day, the collect for peace, which had been used at the end of Lauds, and

the collect for grace, which had been used at Prime. Nothing else followed, but the prayer of S. Chrysostom without that title ended the Litany in 1549, and the special prayers for rain and fair weather came at the end of the Communion Service. The Athanasian Creed was to be used on the six great feasts. Evensong exactly resembled Matins, except that the first two opening sentences, 'O Lord, open thou . . . And our mouth . . .' were omitted, the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis took the place of the morning canticles, and the two final collects were different.

The changes which have been since made in these services have been almost entirely by way of addition. Nothing has been omitted, except unfortunately in 1552 the Easter 'Hallelujah,' and hardly anything has been altered. The additions in 1552 were an Ornaments rubric, and the opening sentences, exhortation, confession, and absolution. There had been a confession and absolution at Prime and Compline, but they were much shorter and simpler than these forms, which seem from their style to have been composed by Cranmer. A mistaken desire for uniformity caused 'O Lord, open thou our lips,' etc., to be added to Evensong. The alternate psalms to Benedictus, Magnificat, and Nunc Dimittis were added. Some of the reformers appear to have had a great dislike to the Gospel canticles, presumably because they had been used in the old offices, for they could not be attacked as 'human inventions.' The services still ended with the third collect, but the prayers for rain and fair weather were now placed after the Litany, and the prayers in time of dearth, war, and plague were added to them. The titles of the Offices were changed from Matins and Evensong to Morning and Evening Prayer, the Benedicite was made simply alternative to the Te Deum, and a curious change was made in the arrangement of the prayers. After the Benedictus and Nunc Dimittis the Creed was said standing, then followed 'The Lord be with you,' etc., and '*Let us pray*,' then the 'Lord have mercy,' etc., and the Lord's Prayer. Then the minister stood for the preces and the collects. The revisers evidently did not understand the history of the custom of saying '*Let us pray*' before the collects. Unfortunately at the last revision the words 'all kneeling' were added, as in other places, at the end of the rubric about the collects; and as this has sometimes been taken to include the priest, it has led to the absurd practice of the priest standing up for the preces and kneeling for the collect. Of course the priest stands for the collect, for it was the ancient custom to rise for the collective prayer, which is a little bit of the Eucharistic Service introduced as a memorial into

the preacher, when using the Bidding Prayer, to recite the Lord's Prayer alone. At the end of the prayer the doxology 'For Thine is the kingdom,' etc., was now added. This was an ancient addition or response to the Lord's Prayer used in the Eastern liturgies, but not in those of the West. From the liturgies it found its way into some manuscripts of S. Matthew's Gospel. The revisers added it here, either because they thought that it really formed part of the prayer, or because they knew of its use in the East. They also added it after the communion of the people in the liturgy and in the office for the Churching of Women, in both of which places they may have thought it specially appropriate, and in the Form of Prayer to be used at Sea. The prayer is printed in fourteen other places in the Prayer Book without the doxology, so it is clear that the addition was only intended for occasional and not for normal use. In the opening versicles Alleluia had been omitted in 1552. It was now restored in the English form, 'The Lord's name be praised,' as an invariable response to 'Praise ye the Lord.' In the rubrics before the Venite and the canticles directions were in some cases inserted that they were not to be used when they occurred in other parts of the service. These directions make it necessary on two days in the year to use the Jubilate instead of the Benedictus, but the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis need never be omitted. The other changes in the rubrics are of very minor importance; one of them, the insertion of 'all kneeling' in the rubric about the collects, has already been noticed. The important addition that was made comes at the end of the service. Both Matins and Evensong had hitherto ended with the third collect. Now there was added in both places first the rubric, 'In Quires and places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem.' Hymns had been entirely omitted from all the English books, but some sort of metrical psalmody had before this date been very commonly introduced. In some cases this had taken a more elaborate form, that of the modern Anthem. The word is simply a form of antiphon, but the revisers probably intended by it the same sort of musical performance that is still in use under that name. This was now legalised, and a definite place assigned to it. The permission has opened the door to a reintroduction of the ancient hymns, though this may not have been thought of at the time. Then there follows, in the Order for Morning Prayer, the rubric, 'Then these five prayers following are to be read here, except when the Litany is read; and then only the two last are to be read, as they are there placed.' Then the five prayers are printed which, as has been seen, had gradually accumulated at the end of the Litany. There they were in an appropriate place, at the end of a service of intercession. But at the end of Matins they introduce an entirely new element, which up to that time had never formed part of the daily Office; but, if the introduction of this element were desirable, two prayers for the royal family and one for the clergy can hardly be regarded

as an ideal scheme of intercession, even if the prayer for all sorts and conditions of men be added to them. The rubric does not state whether the prayers are intended to be used where there is no 'Anthem'; if not, the service should end with the third collect as before. There is no authority for adding, as is sometimes done, the two last prayers without the rest. In the Order for Evening Prayer the rubric about the anthem is retained, and the five prayers are printed afterwards with no direction for their use; so they must be regarded as optional whether there be an anthem or not. In occasional prayers and thanksgivings there were several additions in 1661. The second prayer in time of dearth was replaced. The two prayers for Ember week were added, the second having been already inserted in the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637. The prayers for Parliament and for All Sorts and Conditions of Men, the General Thanksgiving, and the Thanksgiving for Restoring Publick Peace at Home were also new. Of these prayers one of those for the Ember weeks is distinctly ordered to be said daily in those weeks. The prayer for Parliament is 'to be read during their Session,' and the prayer for 'all sorts and conditions' is to be used at such times when the Litany is not appointed to be said; but the use of neither appears to be of obligation. The use of the other prayers and of all the thanksgivings is left entirely to the discretion of the minister or the ordinary

CHAPTER IV

THE OCCASIONAL OFFICES

§ 1. *Baptism and Confirmation.*

Baptism in the New Testament.—The rite by which men become members of the Christian Church is naturally more frequently mentioned in the New Testament than the other great Sacrament of the Gospel. Its institution is recorded in Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, and Mark xvi. 15, 16. It is carefully distinguished from the Baptism of John, Matt. iii. 11; Acts xix. 1-7. At least twelve distinct instances of its administration are recorded, and it is frequently referred to in other passages. But the circumstances of the Apostolic age were such as to preclude any elaborate ceremony or any long period of probation. Under the conditions of the time a desire for baptism could hardly fail to imply genuine repentance and faith, and detailed instruction, as in the case of the three thousand baptized on the day of Pentecost, and the Ethiopian eunuch, may often have been given afterwards. Still, the essential features of Baptism are very clearly brought out, and some other points indicated.

First, the 'matter,' the 'form,' and the results of Baptism are even more distinctly specified than in the case of any other Christian mystery. The matter is always and only water. This is sufficiently implied by the word 'Baptism,' and is more distinctly stated in such passages as John iii. 5; Acts viii. 38; Eph. v. 26, Heb. x. 22. Complete immersion or dipping was no doubt ordinarily practised, and has always been recognised by the Church as the more excellent way, but we

may doubt whether it was always carried out even in the instances recorded in the New Testament, and affusion, or the pouring of water, is recognised as sufficient in so early a document as the Didaché. This document and Tertullian (*c.* 200) speak of the immersion or affusion as triple, and this has always been the ordinary practice of the Church; but some bodies of Celtic Christians practised single immersion, and this has been regarded as valid. The 'form' of words accompanying the immersion is defined by our Lord himself, and there is no evidence that any other form has ever been used, for although the Acts speak of baptism into the name of the Lord Jesus, and S. Paul of baptism into the death of Christ, these are general expressions which do not imply an alternative formula. The effect of Baptism is said to be Regeneration or a new birth, Tit. iii. 5; and remission of sins, Acts ii. 38; xxii. 16.

Besides these points, there are traces of interrogations, and a profession of faith following on instruction preceding baptism. Such a 'traditio' seems implied in S. Paul's words in 1 Cor. xv. 3-5, and it can hardly be doubted that some profession of faith was always made. Perhaps there is an allusion to this in 1 Tim. vi. 12, and such a profession is explicitly recorded in the case of the Ethiopian eunuch, Acts viii. 27. This verse, indeed, is absent from the best MSS., and has probably been inserted from an early service book. But even in this case it affords evidence of the ordinary practice. Two ceremonies that were very early, if not universally, attached both to Baptism and Confirmation—the sign of the Cross and unction or anointing, seem to be alluded to in several passages, the 'sealing' in 2 Cor. i. 22; Eph. i. 13; iv. 20; and unction in 2 Cor. i. 21; 1 John ii. 20-27. But it cannot be positively affirmed that these are not metaphorical, and if so they would explain the very early and general use of these practices. There is no explicit mention in the New Testament of infant Baptism, though many arguments in its favour may be drawn from it; but Origen speaks of it as a tradition from the Apostles, and although adult Baptism long continued to be common, even in the case of the children of Christians, there is

abundant evidence of the baptism of infants in very early times.

Confirmation in the New Testament.—The evidence of the New Testament with regard to Confirmation is perfectly clear. It is mentioned as being administered to the converts in Samaria (Acts viii. 12-17), and to certain converts at Ephesus (Acts xix.), as the natural sequence and completion of Baptism. The outward sign is the laying on of hands after prayer, and the grace is the gift of the Holy Ghost. It is administered only by Apostles. In Heb. vi. 1, 2, it is spoken of immediately after Baptism as one of the principles of the doctrine of Christ.

Baptism in the Early Church.—As Christianity spread, it was natural that both the preliminaries and the ceremonial of Baptism should become more elaborate. We possess much information in the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian with regard to the customs of the African Church at the end of the second century and later; the Canons of Hippolytus describe the ceremonies of the Roman Church at an early period; the Catecheses of Cyril describe the preparation and ceremonies at Jerusalem in the middle of the fourth century; and the Peregrinatio Silviæ also describes the preparation of catechumens at Jerusalem somewhat later. There is a close agreement in the leading features of all these accounts. The period of instruction was called the **Catechumenate.** It often lasted for years; the emperors Constantine and Constantius were catechumens almost all their lives. When the candidates were thought fit and desired to proceed to Baptism, they became competentes (candidates) and went through a further course of special instruction. This lasted at Jerusalem in the fourth century through the forty days of Lent. Fasting is mentioned from the earliest times as an immediate preparation for Baptism. When the candidate appeared before the bishop he made a solemn renunciation of the devil, and a profession of faith, in answer to interrogations. These professions of faith became the creeds of the churches in which they were used. After the actual baptism there was unction and the sign of the

Cross, and imposition of hands. The rites of Baptism and Confirmation were so closely conjoined that it is sometimes difficult to determine to which rite the unction so often spoken of belongs. Perhaps at first there was only one unction, but the ceremony was often repeated. In the Canons of Hippolytus the candidate is anointed with the 'oil of exorcism' before baptism, and with the oil of thanksgiving after it, with the sign of the Cross. Then he receives the imposition of hands, with prayer and the kiss of peace. He is communicated with the reserved elements, and finally partakes of milk and honey. The laying on of hands in this account and elsewhere is spoken of as separate from the unction. But often the two actions were combined into one, and in both the Eastern and Western Churches the imposition of hands, as a separate ceremony from the unction, eventually disappeared. The time for baptism was from an early date pre-eminently the eve of Easter, and next to that the eve of Pentecost, as the last day of the Easter season. In the East the Epiphany, the festival of our Lord's baptism, was also so observed. The minister of Baptism was the bishop, who might be assisted or represented by his presbyters, but in case of necessity it was determined that baptism by any Christian, even a heretic, was valid and could not be repeated.

Roman Baptism in the Eighth Century.—We have more detailed information about the order of Baptism at Rome about the eighth century. The chief authorities are one of the Ordines Romani of the time of Charles the Great, and the Gelasian Sacramentary, which gives the prayers. The days of Baptism were still the eves of Easter and Pentecost, and the preparation took place during Lent. The whole of the formularies assume that the candidates are adults, but they must have been used also, with some necessary omissions and changes, for infants, and indeed some of the extant rubrics refer to infants. The ceremonies of admission to the catechumenate were the following: First, exsufflation, or breathing upon the face of the candidate; secondly, signing his forehead with the sign of the Cross; and thirdly, putting a grain

of salt, which had been previously exorcised or blessed, into his mouth. This last was a custom peculiar to the Roman Church. These ceremonies were accompanied by appropriate prayers. Those catechumens who were to be baptized on Easter Eve were called *electi* or *competentes*, and instructed during Lent, especially on seven days, called the dies scrutinii. On the Monday in the third week of Lent notice was given of the first of these days. When they came to the church for the first 'scrutiny,' the 'elect' gave in their names, which were taken down, and they were arranged in two groups, the men on the right and the women on the left. The Mass was then begun, and after the collect the first exorcism took place. Three exorcists, or later acolytes, when the office of exorcist fell into disuse, each one after the other made the sign of the Cross and laid his hand on the candidates, first the men, then the women, repeating a prayer and form of exorcism. Lastly the priest said a prayer over them, also signing them and laying on his hands, and they were dismissed before the Gospel. Special mention was made of the elect and their sponsors in the intercessions of the Mass. These exorcisms were repeated on each of the days of scrutiny except the last. The third scrutiny was one of great importance, and of a most impressive character. The candidates were then formally instructed in the Gospels, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. This was called 'the Opening of Ears,' or the 'Tradition of the Christian Law.' In other Churches only the Creed was delivered, and the ceremony was called Traditio Symboli. The candidates were not dismissed after the Gradual, but four deacons carried the four Gospels in a solemn procession from the sacristy, and laid them on the four corners of the altar. The priest addressed the candidates, and then the deacons read the beginnings of the four Gospels, and the priest gave an exposition after each. Then followed the delivery of the Creed. Before and after it the priest gave an address. The Creed was that which we call the Nicene Creed, which had been introduced at Rome instead of the Apostles' Creed in Byzantine times, when the population was bilingual.

Consequently the candidates were divided into two groups, and the acolyte recited the Creed first in Greek, then in Latin, on behalf of each group. Then the priest himself delivered the Lord's Prayer. After an address he recited each clause and explained it, and a last address ended the ceremony. The last scrutiny took place on Easter eve. On this occasion the priest himself signed the candidates, laid his hand upon them, and pronounced the last exorcism. This was followed by the **Effeta** (Ephphatha), a ceremony taken from the healing of the deaf-mute, the priest touching the lips and ears of the candidates with saliva. Then they were **anointed** with oil, which had been consecrated at the Maundy-Thursday Mass, on the breast and back. Both these ceremonies were symbolical of the conflict with evil, the critical moment of which had now arrived. The priest asks each by name, 'Dost thou renounce Satan?' Resp. 'I renounce.' 'And all his works?' Resp. 'I renounce.' 'And all his pomps?' Resp. 'I renounce.' Then the candidates recite the Creed. This was the **Redditio Symboli**. Then they are dismissed.

In the afternoon the Paschal Vigil began, and the candidates were present. At this vigil a series of appropriate passages from the Old Testament was read, with prayers between them, and canticles. When it was finished, litanies were sung while the pope went in procession to the baptistery with the elect. He first consecrated the water with a long eucharistic prayer, during the progress of which he signed it with the Cross, and breathed upon it. At the words 'May the virtue of the Spirit descend upon this water,' two tapers were plunged into the laver, and finally the pope poured into it the consecrated oil or *chrism* in the form of the Cross. Then the candidates, who had laid aside their garments, were presented by the archdeacon, and the questions as to their faith were put. 'Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?' 'I believe.' 'Dost thou believe also in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was born and suffered?' 'I believe.' 'Dost thou believe also in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Church, remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh?' 'I believe.' Then

they enter the water and are baptized with a triple immersion, the pope being assisted by his clergy. On coming out of the water they are anointed on the head by a priest with chrism, with the words, 'Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath regenerated thee with water and the Holy Ghost, and who hath given thee remission of all thy sins, himself anoints thee with the chrism of salvation to eternal life,' and they put on their albes or *chrisoms*, the white garments worn during the octave. They are led to the pope to be confirmed. He lays his hands upon them with the prayer, 'Almighty and everliving God,' which immediately precedes the laying on of hands in the present English Office, and then makes the sign of the Cross on their foreheads with chrism, saying, 'The sign of Christ unto eternal life. Amen.' 'Peace be with thee. Amen.' He then returns to the church, where the choir have been singing litanies, and begins the first Easter Mass with Gloria in Excelsis. During the Canon he blesses the draught of milk and honey which is given to the neophytes after their first communion, which they now receive.

Simplicity of the Baptismal Service.—A point which is worthy of special notice in the ceremonies that have just been described is the extreme shortness and simplicity of the actual Baptismal service. Apart from the blessing of the font, which might be, and in later times usually was, a completely separate service, the ceremony is almost as simple as the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch as recorded in the Acts. There are no prayers except the short prayer given above which was pronounced by the priest when anointing the newly baptized, and this anointing, which, as has been seen, may date from Apostolic times, is the sole ceremony added to the actual washing. The pope only asks the questions as to belief in the Trinity, which in some form must have been practically universal. The Confirmation service consists of the single prayer 'Almighty and everliving God,' still in the English service, and the only actions are the laying on of hands and the unction, accompanied by the shortest possible formula. If an actual anointing at

Baptism and Confirmation is really implied in the passages from the New Testament quoted above, the service only includes, and that in the simplest possible form, what is absolutely necessary in order to conform to the commands of our Lord and the practice of the Apostles. All the elaboration, all the non-Scriptural ceremonies, such as the salt, the sign of the Cross, the instructions, the exorcisms, belong to the previous preparation of the candidates. Here there is a remarkable contrast between Baptism and the Eucharistic Liturgy, which from very early times was of a comparatively elaborate character. It is of course right and natural that the necessary ceremony by which admission to Christian privileges is given should be as simple as possible. It is no less right that adult candidates for baptism should be prepared as carefully as possible. But when infant Baptism became almost universal, a great change took place in the service. Much indeed of the preparation dropped out of use, but many of the ceremonies and prayers constructed for adult catechumens continued in use, and practically became part of the actual Baptismal service, which thus became far longer and more elaborate. This is seen when we come to consider the Sarum Baptismal services from which the English service was constructed.

Sarum Baptismal Offices.—Even in the eighth century books some of the rubrics refer to infants, but in the Sarum services there is now no longer any allusion to adults. All the rubrics speak of infants. There are four services, the **Ordo ad faciendum Catechumenum**, the **Benedictio Fontis**, the **Ritus Baptizandi**, and the **Confirmatio Puerorum**. The Blessing of the Font took place as often as it was necessary to change the water, which was to be done frequently. It was performed by the priest, and consisted of a litany, and practically the same Eucharistic prayer and ceremonies as are in the Gelasian Sacramentary. The Ordo ad faciendum Catechumenum and the Ritus Baptizandi were in practice one continuous service, and took place as often as children were brought to be baptized, which was to be as soon as possible after their birth. Only when they were born

within eight days of Easter or Pentecost were they to wait until the ancient baptismal seasons. In case of necessity any man or w man was to baptize, and the priest was to instruct his people how to do it, by sprinkling or dipping three times, or at least once, and using the formula, 'I cristene the N. in the name of the Fadir, and of the Sone, and of the Holy Gost. Amen.' In such cases, if the child lived, it was to be brought to the church, and all the service performed except the actual baptism. In cases of doubt the rubric ordered conditional baptism, as the present English rubric does. When a child was brought to church in the ordinary way, the priest met it at the door, and asked various questions—its sex, whether it had been baptized, its name. A male infant was placed on his right, a female on his left,—a relic of the old arrangement of the catechumens. Then followed the old prayers and ceremonies for making a catechumen, the sign of the Cross, and salt, but not exsufflation. Then the old exorcisms described above as pronounced on the seven days of scrutiny, but now only said once. Then a short Gospel from S. Matthew, about Christ blessing the children, was read, then the ceremony of the Effeta, then the Pater Noster, Ave, and Credo, said by the priest and repeated by all present. Then the priest made the sign of the Cross on the child's right hand, and brought it into the church. This is the end of the 'Ordo ad faciendum Catechumenum.' It represents in a very compressed form the admission of catechumens and their preparation throughout Lent. The old prayers and ceremonies are retained, but the instruction is very much curtailed. It is now only represented by a very short reading from the Gospel, and the recitation of the Pater, Ave, and Credo.

The actual Baptismal service which follows is almost the same as in the eighth century. The priest asks the child's name (as he has already done more than once), and puts the questions of renunciation. Then he anoints the child on the breast and the back. Then he puts the questions as to belief, given above, and the additional questions, 'What dost thou seek?' 'Baptism.' 'Wilt

thou be baptized?' 'I will.' Then he baptizes the child with triple immersion, and anoints it with chrism, saying the prayer given above, and the white garment is put on. The last ceremony is to put a lighted taper in the child's hand.

Confirmation.—A rubric directs that the child is immediately to be confirmed if the bishop is present, which of course was very seldom the case, and communicated, 'if his age demands it, the priest saying, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy *body and* soul unto eternal life."' This formula, it may be noted, is different from that in the Missal, and is that which was adopted for the English service. As a matter of fact, **the interval between Baptism and Confirmation seems to have tended to increase during the Middle Ages.** There is evidence that in the early days of the English Church, when the ancient seasons of Baptism were observed, the bishops were accustomed to go about their dioceses afterwards to confirm those who had just been baptized. Later on there were various rules published, directing parents, if the bishop were in the neighbourhood, to bring their children for confirmation within a certain period, varying from one to seven years in different constitutions. Confirmation was not always administered in church, and the Pontifical of Archbishop Chichele in the fifteenth century contains the suggestive note: 'The bishop is not bound to begin again or repeat the whole service for every boy coming to him *on the road or elsewhere*; but to bless each boy thus: The Holy Ghost come upon thee, and the virtue of the Highest guard thee from sins. Asking the name of the boy, let him say: N. I sign thee, etc. If there has been a great interval among the boys coming to him, he is bound to begin again the whole service.'

The whole service indeed is sufficiently short. It begins with 'Our help is in the name of the Lord,' etc. Then follows the prayer, 'Omnipotens sempiterne Deus,' which is in the Gelasian Sacramentary, and the present English Office. The direction however for an imposition of hands as a separate ceremony when this prayer is said, which was still retained in some of the eighth century

books, is not in the Sarum Office. Then the bishop dips his thumb in chrism and makes the sign of the Cross on the forehead of the confirmand, with the words: 'I sign thee with the sign of the Cross, and confirm thee with the chrism of salvation. In the name,' etc. Then 'Pax tibi,' and a prayer: 'God, who didst give the Holy Spirit to thy Apostles, and didst will that he should be handed on by them to their successors and the rest of the faithful, . . . grant that the same Holy Spirit may come and make the hearts of those whose foreheads we have anointed with holy chrism and signed with the sign of the holy Cross, a worthy temple for his habitation.' Then the Benediction.

Baptismal Office of 1549.—The service of 1549 introduced a considerable amount of fresh material, chiefly in the form of exhortations, with several prayers. The additions were probably partly due to a fear of Anabaptism. Otherwise there was no great change, except that the exorcisms were shortened, and several minor ceremonies omitted. The sign of the Cross was made only once, instead of repeatedly, and the giving of salt, the Effeta, the unction *before* Baptism, and the lighted taper were left out. The service still begins with inquiries at the church door. Then come the exhortation and the prayer 'Almighty and everlasting God,' which were taken from Hermann's 'Consultatio,' and are still found at the beginning of the service. Then the priest asks the name of the child, and makes the sign of the Cross on its forehead and breast, with nearly the same formula which is used at present. The prayer 'Almighty and immortal God' follows. It comes before the final exorcism in the Sarum rite. Then follows a free translation of the last exorcism, which the priest pronounced in the eighth century on Easter eve. Then follows the Gospel about the children, but from S. Mark instead of S. Matthew, and with the addition of the exhortation, which is indeed only a return to the earlier usage. Then the priest, with the sponsors and congregation, recites the Lord's Prayer and Creed. These are followed by the prayer 'Almighty and everlasting God,' which is also taken from Hermann. And then, with a short formula, the priest leads the children into the church. This is the end of the part of

the service by which the child is made a catechumen, and prepared for baptism. It is merely a simplification of the Sarum form, with the addition of exhortations and prayers.

The actual Baptismal service now begins with a fresh exhortation. Otherwise it is practically the same as the Sarum form, with the omission of the first anointing and the taper. There is the triple renunciation, somewhat expanded; then the triple profession of faith, expanded so as to include the whole of the Apostles' Creed; then the Baptism with triple immersion; then the putting on of the chrisom, and unction on the head. Then the final exhortation, as at present. The Benediction of the Font was still a separate service, and consisted of a very much shortened form of the old prayer, with the sign of the Cross on the water as the only ceremony. A series of petitions from the Mozarabic Rite, and the prayer 'Almighty, everliving God,' which now come immediately before the baptism, followed the Benediction. This service was to be used as often as the water was changed, which was to be at least once a month. The service for Confirmation was now definitely separated from that of Baptism, and had better be considered separately.

Changes in Baptismal Office of 1552.—In 1552 the Baptismal service was greatly altered, by both omissions and additions, and reduced very nearly to its present form. The idea of the catechumenate was now altogether dropped, except in so far as the Gospel represents the old Traditio Legis. Consequently the service begins at the font, not at the church door; the sign of the Cross at the beginning of the service disappears, and the name of the child is not asked until just before his baptism; the exorcism, the repetition of the Pater and Credo, and the leading to the font are all omitted. What is left is simply a sort of introduction to the Baptismal service itself. It may perhaps be urged as some justification for this change that the catechumenate in the case of infants has no very great meaning, and that its spirit is better preserved in the preparation of the child after Baptism for Confirmation. In the actual service the renunciations and professions of faith are given each in a

single question, and triple immersion is no longer explicitly ordered. For the questions, 'What dost thou desire?' 'Wilt thou be baptized?' are substituted one question, 'Wilt thou be baptized in this faith?' 'That is my desire.' Then immediately before the baptism are interpolated the prayers, 'O merciful God,' etc., and 'Almighty, everliving God,' taken from the Benediction of the Font, which is now omitted. After baptism the giving of the chrisom and the unction are omitted, and in their place is put the sign of the Cross, transferred from the beginning of the service, with the formula 'We receive this child,' etc. Then before the exhortation are added the address 'Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren,' etc., the Lord's Prayer, and 'We yield thee hearty thanks,' etc. This addition, made at such a time, is noticeable, because it is the part of the present service in which the doctrine of Baptismal regeneration is most strongly emphasised, and which has therefore been most attacked by Puritan objectors, and it shows that even the reformers of 1552 had not the slightest intention of allowing this doctrine to be surrendered.

Changes in Baptismal Office of 1661.—At the last revision in 1661 a few changes were made. The rubric at the beginning of the Office was altered to its present form. Before, it alluded to the old custom of confining public Baptism to Easter and Pentecost, and expressed a wish for its restoration. This was omitted. Before, public Baptism might not take place at all except on a Sunday or Holy Day. This was made less rigid. The provision about the number of sponsors, which is the same as that ordered by the Council of York in 1195, was added, and also the direction that the font was to be filled with pure water on each occasion of use. The people were directed to stand at the Gospel, and sundry other small changes in the rubrics were made. The question 'Wilt thou then obediently keep,' etc., was added. The most important thing done was the restoration of the Benediction of the Font, by the insertion of the words 'Sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin,' into the prayer 'Almighty, everliving God.' According to the present rule, therefore, the water is changed on each occasion, and blessed

immediately before its use, and this seems to be the course most in accordance both with decency and early usage. The two notes at the end of the service were added.

Private Baptism.—It is not necessary to say much about the Office for Private Baptism and Reception. The last rubric at the beginning of the Office was altered in 1604. For some mysterious reason, the Puritans objected to lay Baptism, and the words 'lawful minister' were inserted to meet their objections. This makes no difference to the doctrine of the Church, for all persons, in case of necessity, are lawful ministers of Baptism; and the questions that are asked in case of doubt, and the rubric before the formula for conditional Baptism, which distinctly states that the essential parts of Baptism are water and the invocation of the Holy Trinity, make it quite clear that the English Church holds the Catholic doctrine on the subject. The Thanksgiving 'We yield thee hearty thanks,' etc., was inserted in 1661. The questions asked in case of doubt were slightly altered, and indeed improved, in 1604 and 1661. In 1549 the Lord's Prayer and the Creed were ordered to be said by the minister with the godfathers and godmothers. The Creed was omitted in 1552, and in 1661 the rubric was omitted, and the prayer 'Almighty and everlasting God' added after the Lord's Prayer instead of coming at the end of the service. The questions as to renunciation, etc., were altered as in the public Office. A direction for putting on the chrisom was left out in 1552, and the sign of the Cross, and the address and thanksgiving, were added in 1661.

The Office for the **Baptism of Adults** was added in 1661. It is merely an adaptation of that for the public Baptism of Infants.

The **Catechism** until 1661 was contained in the Order for Confirmation. It was then printed separately, and the rubrics rearranged. The concluding part about the Sacraments was added in 1604.

The Order of **Confirmation**, as translated into English in 1549, contained two important changes. **The laying on of hands was explicitly restored, and made the central act of the service, and chrism was discontinued, though the**

sign of the Cross was retained. The omission of so ancient and universal a practice as the use of anointing in Confirmation, which, if not of Apostolic origin, certainly dates from sub-Apostolic times, cannot but be regretted, but perhaps the motive was to emphasise the importance of the imposition of hands. Anointing was still retained in the Baptismal service, and therefore the revisers cannot have objected to the ceremony itself. Otherwise the Office was almost exactly the same as in the old service books. It still began with 'Our help is in the name of the Lord,' etc. Then followed the old prayer, 'Almighty, everliving God,' and the prayer, also from the Sarum rite, 'Sign them (O Lord) and mark them to be thine for ever, by the virtue of thy holy Cross and passion. Confirm and strength them with the inward unction of thy Holy Ghost, mercifully unto everlasting life.' 'Then the bishop shall cross them in the forehead, and lay his hand upon their heads saying, N. I sign thee with the sign of the Cross, and lay my hand upon thee. In the name,' etc. Then, when every child has been confirmed, the bishop says, 'The peace of the Lord abide with you. *R.* And with thy Spirit,' and instead of the Sarum prayer, 'God, who didst give,'[1] the prayer 'Almighty, ever-living God,' which is to the same purport, but taken from a Lutheran source. Then the Benediction. In 1552 the prayer 'Sign them (O Lord)' and the sign of the Cross were omitted, and the formula changed to that now in use. In 1661 the Office was considerably enlarged. The opening rubric and address and the question put to the candidates about their baptismal vows were prefixed. This addition has unfortunately led many uninstructed people to think that Confirmation means confirming the baptismal vows. This is of course a purely modern and a most erroneous idea. Those who come to Confirmation come to 'be confirmed,' by the gift of the Holy Ghost. After the Confirmation, 'The Lord be with you' and the Lord's Prayer were added, and also the prayer 'O Almighty Lord.' It has recently become usual to interpolate an address, and even hymns, into the service.

[1] See page 91.

§ 2. *The Churching of Women.*

The Levitical law provided for a solemn purification of women after childbirth, and it was natural that the idea should be continued in some shape in the Christian Church. No early forms of service are extant, but it would seem that in early days women were expected to be absent from church for forty days, and then to be solemnly readmitted. Gregory the Great, however, in answer to a question of S. Augustine, says that women may enter the church to return thanks at any time, and protests against the idea than any fault had been incurred which should prevent them from doing so. A rubric in the Sarum Manual indorses this view, and says that entrance to the church is not to be refused to them. The Manual contains a short office called **Purificatio post Partum**, and the form in the Book of Common Prayer is a translation of this without any change of importance.

In the Sarum Office the priest met the woman at the church door, and said the psalms cxxi. and cxxviii. Then followed Kyrie Eleison, the Paternoster, and the versicles and prayer, just as in the present English Office. Then the woman was sprinkled with holy water, and led into the church with the words, 'Enter into the temple of God that thou mayest have eternal life and live for ever.' In the book of 1549 the woman was directed to come into the church and kneel 'nigh unto the quire door.' The short opening address was put in, and the second psalm and the leading into the church omitted. In 1552 the title was changed to the present title, and the place specified as being 'nigh unto the place where the table standeth.' In 1661 the opening rubric was worded as it now stands, and psalm cxvi. or cxxvii. substituted for cxxi. Following the erroneous example of the daily offices, 'Let us pray' was also inserted before the Kyrie.

§ 3. *Holy Matrimony.*

Ancient Nuptial Ceremonies. — Marriage stands alone among the sacraments of the Church in not being of

Christian origin, or confined to the Church. Its essence is the consent of the parties to the union, and it has not 'any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.' But the Church, although her intervention is not necessary, perhaps from the first gave her blessing to the union, and in the course of time, when it could be done without danger, adopted various significant ceremonies from Jewish or Pagan custom. **S. Ignatius**, at the beginning of the second century, says that it is fitting that the bridegroom and bride seek the consent of the bishop. We hear also that the bride was dressed in white and that she was veiled, and the joining of hands, the kiss of peace, and marriage gifts are also mentioned. The Roman ceremony of giving a ring was early adopted, and about the fourth century the crowning of the bridegroom and bride, which had at first been condemned as pagan, was permitted, and it now forms a conspicuous part of the marriage ceremony in the East. There are, however, no early descriptions of the nuptial rites, and they probably varied to a great extent. The Council of Trent, while prescribing the usual Roman ritual, decreed the maintenance of any praiseworthy local usages. The first detailed description of a **Christian marriage** occurs in the answer of Nicolas I. to the Bulgarians in 866. It is to be noticed that, except for the fact that the Mass is substituted for the heathen sacrifice, the ceremonies are precisely those of pagan Rome. They are divided into two parts, the **Espousals** and the **Nuptials** proper. The espousals comprehended, first, the mutual consent of the parties and of their relations to the marriage; secondly, the giving of the ring; thirdly, the giving of the dowry by a written document. The actual marriage consisted of a nuptial Mass, with appropriate prayers, a benediction pronounced over the bridal pair, while a veil was held over their heads, and their crowning on leaving the church. The custom of veiling dropped gradually out of use, though it lingered long in France, and is ordered by the Sarum rubrics; and the crowning also disappeared in the West. All these features except the crowning remained in the Sarum Office, and all except the crowning and veiling were continued in the Book of Common

Prayer. The ancient **Roman Sacramentaries** contain a nuptial Mass, with special collects, secrets, etc. The Benediction took place after the Lord's Prayer which closes the Canon, and before the Communion. It is a long Eucharistic prayer, of which the last prayer in the present English service is a shortened form. Then the bridegroom and bride are communicated, and the priest pronounces a benediction.

Service of 1549.—It is not necessary to describe the Sarum service in detail, for it is practically the same, with no important omissions, as that which is used to-day. It was not even necessary to translate the whole office, for the formulas in which troth is plighted were already used in English. In 1549 the opening exhortation was lengthened by an excursus on the causes for which matrimony was ordained. The betrothal remained almost exactly in the old English words; the man was still directed to lay 'other tokens of spousage, as gold or silver' on the book, as well as the ring; but this was omitted in 1552. The Sarum rubric directed the man to put the ring on the first, second, and third fingers at the mention of each Person of the Holy Trinity, and then on the fourth, but this was omitted. The prayer 'O Eternal God' is compiled from several short prayers in the Sarum service. Then an additional ceremony, the joining of the hands, with the following declaration, was added. The Benediction which concludes the espousals, and the rest of the service, said 'ad gradum altaris,' are practically unchanged, except that, as mentioned before, the last English prayer is introduced here from the nuptial Mass. In 1549 no special Mass was provided, but the final rubric ran, 'The new married persons (the same day of their marriage) must receive the Holy Communion.' The rubric after the Benediction in 1549 was this, 'Then shall be said after the Gospel [in 1552: 'Then shall begin the Communion, and after the Gospel'] a sermon, wherein ordinarily (so oft as there is any marriage) the office of man and wife shall be declared, according to holy Scripture. Or if there be no sermon, the Minister shall read this that followeth.' Then follows the present exhortation.

Thus, until the last revision, a celebration of the Eucharist was a necessary part of the marriage ceremony. It was probably from a not unfounded fear of irreverence that the rubrics were then altered to their present form, making a celebration less imperative.

§ 4. *Visitation, Unction, and Communion of the Sick.*

Primitive Practice.—The care of the sick must always have formed an important part of the work of the ministers of the Church, but no early forms for their ministrations are extant. Our Lord had promised that his Apostles should lay hands on the sick and they should recover, but this ceremony appears to have been connected with miraculous powers. S. James directed that the sick should be anointed with oil by the presbyters, with prayer, but this practice is not often mentioned by early writers. It was also the practice of the Church from the earliest times to reserve the Blessed Sacrament for those who could not come to church, but there are no special forms for its administration. In the **Gelasian Sacramentary** we find prayers for a sick man in his house, a special 'Missa' for a sick man, and a thanksgiving for restored health. There is also a form for the consecration of the oil, but no forms for the actual anointing.

The Sarum Office.—It is not until we come to the **Sarum Manual** that we find the full ceremonies and prayers in use in the Middle Ages. On his way to the sick person's house, the priest, who was to wear surplice and stole, said the seven penitential psalms, with the antiphon, 'Remember not, O Lord, our iniquities,' etc. On entering he said, 'Peace be to this house and to all who dwell in it; peace to those who go in and go out.' Then followed the Kyrie, Paternoster, and versicles, still retained in the English service. Then nine prayers were said, two of them being those retained in the English service. The priest then said a short exhortation to patience and faith, and examined the sick man in the Christian faith. A shorter form of examination was provided for the unlearned, consisting of a slightly expanded form of the Apostles' Creed. Then there is an exhortation to charity

and hope, and another to contrition and confession. The confession and absolution follow; no penance is to be enjoined, but instead there is an exhortation to give alms. Then there is a short collect and the Benediction. The priest says some further prayers in a low voice, one the prayer 'O most merciful God' which follows the Absolution in the English Office, while the sick person kisses the Cross and the bystanders. When Extreme Unction is administered, Psalm lxxi., 'In thee, O Lord, have I put my trust,' is said, with the antiphon 'O Saviour of the world,' etc. This is followed by a prayer, in which is incorporated the passage where S. James speaks of unction, and the priest then anoints the organs of sense of the sick man, with a short formula for each, praying that the sins committed may be forgiven. Meanwhile the clerk recites psalms. The Communion of the sick man follows, if it is possible. If not, the priest tells him, as he is directed to do by the English rubric, that faith is sufficient. 'Brother, in this case true faith sufficeth for thee and a good will: only believe and thou hast eaten.' It may be noted that the English rubric has sometimes actually been quoted as shewing that the English Church of the present day attaches little importance to the reception of the Eucharist. If so, the same would be true of the English Church of the Middle Ages, for its teaching is precisely the same. The formula used in communicating the sick man is, 'The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy *body and* soul unto eternal life.' The words in italics are absent from the formula prescribed in the Roman Missal. After Communion there was a psalm and a prayer, and several alternate forms of benediction. The Sarum Manual also provides a Litany to be said 'in Articulo Mortis,' and after death a 'Commendatio Animarum,' consisting of a number of psalms, with prayers.

Extreme Unction.—It has been said that the sacrament of Extreme Unction, as used in the Middle Ages, was not the same ordinance as that prescribed by S. James, inasmuch as it was not used with a view to the recovery of the sick man, but only when recovery was despaired of. Such a view receives no countenance whatever from

the prayers or rubrics of the Sarum Office. The prayers are for forgiveness of sins and for recovery; and they quote and strictly agree with the words of S. James. The rubrics lay down most emphatically that unction may be repeated, even in the course of the same illness, whenever it assumes a dangerous character; and that those who recover after unction should resume their ordinary life, and not imagine that any special consecration has been conferred upon them. The whole service indeed is strictly scriptural.

The English Books.—No important change was made in translating the Office for the Visitation of the Sick in 1549, and it still remains substantially the same. Instead of the recitation of all the penitential psalms on the way to the sick man's house, the last only, Psalm cxliii., was said on coming into the sick man's presence, with the same antiphon, 'Remember not, Lord,' etc. In 1552 the psalm itself was omitted, and only the antiphon retained. The Kyrie, Pater, and versicles have remained the same throughout, the response 'Spare us, good Lord' and 'Let us pray' being added in 1661. Two only out of the nine Sarum prayers were translated. The second in 1549 ran thus :—

'Hear us, Almighty and most merciful God and Saviour: extend thy accustomed goodness to this thy servant, which is grieved with sickness: Visit him, O Lord, as thou didst visit Peter's wife's mother, and the captain's servant. And as thou preservedst Thobie and Sara by thy angel from danger: So restore unto this sick person his former health (if it be thy will), or else give him grace so to take thy correction: that after this painful life ended, he may dwell with thee in life everlasting. Amen.'

The reference to Thobie and Sara was omitted in 1552, and the prayer changed to its present form in 1661.

The Sarum exhortations were expanded into the present forms, and the examination in faith couched in the exact words of the Apostles' Creed. The rubric before the Absolution ended in 1549 with the words: 'and the same form of absolution shall be used in all private confessions.' These words were omitted in 1552. In the same rubric the words 'be moved to' and 'if he humbly and heartily desire it' were inserted in 1661. The practice

of private confession was given a more voluntary character in 1549, and the responsibility for neglecting to make use of it is laid entirely on the individual Christians; but the fact that all English churchmen are to be 'moved' to confession on their death-beds, after having been invited to it all their lives before every celebration of the Eucharist, amounts to almost as strong a recommendation of the practice as is possible without making it compulsory. In the later Middle Ages it was compulsory whenever a penitent was conscious of having committed mortal sin and desired to receive Holy Communion. After the Absolution only the prayer 'O most merciful Lord' was retained out of several Sarum prayers, and then follows Psalm lxxi. and the antiphon 'O Saviour of the world' out of the Office for Extreme Unction. This, it may be noted, is the only antiphon now left in the Book of Common Prayer in its proper place after a psalm. The prayer 'The Almighty Lord,' etc., was not in the Sarum Office, but it resembles a prayer in the Gregorian Sacramentary. The Benediction 'Unto God's gracious mercy,' etc., and the four following prayers were added in 1661. In the book of 1549 the following directions for Unction concluded the service:—

'If the sick person desire to be anointed, then shall the priest anoint him upon the forehead or breast only, making the sign of the Cross, saying thus—

'As with this visible oil thy body outwardly is anointed: so our heavenly Father, Almighty God, grant of his infinite goodness that thy soul inwardly may be anointed with the Holy Ghost, who is the Spirit of all strength, comfort, relief, and gladness. And vouchsafe for his great mercy (if it be his blessed will) to restore unto thee thy bodily health, and strength, to serve him, and send thee relief of all thy pains, troubles, and diseases, both in body and mind. And howsoever his goodness (by his divine and unsearchable providence) shall dispose of thee: we his unworthy ministers and servants, humbly beseech the eternal majesty, to do with thee according to the multitude of his innumerable mercies, and to pardon thee all thy sins and offences, committed by all thy bodily senses, passions, and carnal affections: who also vouchsafe mercifully to grant unto thee ghostly strength by his holy Spirit, to withstand and overcome all temptations and assaults of thine adversary, that in no wise he prevail against thee, but that thou mayest have perfect victory and triumph against the devil, sin, and death, through Christ our Lord: who

by his death hath overcomed the Prince of death, and with the Father and the Holy Ghost evermore liveth and reigneth, God, world without end. Amen.'

Then follows Psalm xiii. These directions were omitted in 1552.

Private Celebration and Reservation.—The rubrics and forms for a private Celebration for the Sick were a new element in the English service books, introduced in 1549. Such private celebrations were not unknown in early times, but they were very rare, the rule being that the sick should be communicated with the reserved Sacrament. This use prevailed in England, as everywhere else. We learn from Bede's account of the death of Caedmon that in monasteries at that time the Eucharist was reserved in or near the dormitory, for use in cases of emergency only. The revisers of 1549 evidently desired to limit **Reservation** to the case of the sick, and they ordered that if there were a celebration in the church on the same day, the Sacrament should be reserved for the communion of the sick person. Otherwise there was to be a special celebration, for which the existing collect, etc., was provided, and if there were more sick persons to be communicated, the Sacrament was to be reserved for them from that celebration. These directions were omitted in 1552, but reinserted in the Latin Prayer Book of 1560, which shows that reservation was still regarded as lawful. It has been thought by some that it was rendered unlawful by the rubric which was inserted at the end of the Communion Service in 1661, which orders that what remains of the consecrated elements shall not be carried out of the church, but be reverently consumed. This rubric, however, was certainly not intended to forbid reservation for the sick, which was not a question before the revisers at all, but to prevent the desecration of the Sacrament by being put to common uses or thrown away, which was then unhappily very common. It is strictly parallel to the corresponding rubrics in the Sarum and Roman liturgies, which order the reverent consumption of the elements after every celebration, and it will hardly be contended that these forbid reservation for the sick. In any case there

is nothing in the present rubrics to forbid what was ordered in 1549, the reservation of the Sacrament after a private celebration for the communion of other sick persons. One other objection that has been raised should perhaps be noted. It has been said that the xxviii. Article by implication condemns the practice, by asserting that the Sacrament 'was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.' But here again the reservation spoken of is obviously quite a different thing from reservation *for the sick*; and the language of the Article is most cautious, for even the practices alluded to are not condemned or prohibited, but it is merely stated that they do not form part of Christ's ordinance; which is certainly true.

The rubric about those sick people whom it is impossible to communicate is taken, as mentioned above, from the Sarum rubric in the Visitatio. The last rubric, allowing the priest only to communicate with the sick man in the case of contagious sickness, was added in 1552.

§ 5. *The Burial of the Dead.*

Christian Burial.—It is hardly necessary to remark that the care of the dead has always and everywhere been a subject for great solicitude, and has generally been accompanied by much pomp and ceremony. It was not likely that the Christian Church would fall behind heathen nations in the care bestowed upon the departed, but the doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body naturally gave to the Christian rites a hopeful and even exultant character which could not attach to the most elaborate ceremonies of the heathen. The Christian rites centred as a matter of course around the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist, which was offered for the departed not only at their actual interment, but periodically afterwards. The unity of the whole Church both living and departed is a doctrine which is emphasised not only in the Creeds but in every Liturgy. The holy Sacrifice is always offered on behalf of the 'whole Church,' militant upon earth and at rest in Paradise.

Early Ceremonies.—No special ceremonies, beyond those naturally connected with the actual interment, have been

added to the funeral Eucharist. Psalms and prayers, with the use of incense and of holy water, form the substance of the additional devotions. The Gelasian Sacramentary contains a number of special 'Missae' for the departed, to suit different circumstances. One is noted for use on the third, seventh, or thirtieth day, or annually. There are also a number of prayers to be said after death, others before the body is carried out for burial, others to be used by the grave before and after the interment, and forms of commendation of the departed soul. One of them runs thus: 'We commend to thee, O Lord, the soul of our brother N., and pray that thou wilt not refuse to lay in the bosom of thy patriarchs the soul for whose sake thou didst mercifully come down upon the earth: to him who departs from this unstable and uncertain life grant eternal life and joy in heavenly places, O Saviour of the world, who livest,' etc.

The Sarum Use.—The services in the Sarum Manual began with a Commendatio Animarum, said on the day of death or the eve of burial, while the body was prepared for burial and carried to the church. This office consists of psalms and prayers, and it appears to be peculiar to English use. Afterwards Vespers, Compline, and Vigils of the Dead were said, and on the morning of burial the Funeral Mass. When this was ended, several prayers with verses and Kyries were said in the church while the bier was censed. Then the procession started for the grave, the choir singing Psalm cxiv. and, if necessary, Psalm xxv. While the grave was opened, blessed, and censed, and the body laid in it, a great many prayers were said, and between the prayers Psalms cxviii., xlii., cxxxii., and cxxxix. were sung. The priest first threw earth on the body in the form of the Cross, and when the grave was filled, he used this form of commendation: 'I commend thy soul to God the Father Almighty, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, in the name,' etc. Then there were more prayers, the last three psalms, the Benedictus, and the Miserere. Returning from the grave, the seven penitential psalms, or at least the De Profundis, were sung, and the office ended with the prayer 'May his soul and the souls of all the faithful departed through the mercy of God rest in peace.'

Changes in 1549.—The revisers of 1549 changed the Burial Service more than any other. This was not because of any great complication in the old offices, for they consisted almost entirely, as has been shewn, of psalms and prayers. Nor was it because of mediæval accretions, for the prayers were for the most part ancient and beautiful. But the services were extremely long, and a reaction from the mediæval developments of the doctrine of Purgatory made the reformers willing to abbreviate even primitive prayers for the departed. The spirit of the new service was the same; prayers were still offered for the departed, and the service still consisted of anthems, psalms, and prayers, no fresh element being introduced unless the lesson be considered as such, but even this had been used as the epistle in a Mass for the dead. But the arrangement was changed, and the new service is rather a compilation from the old services than a direct translation or adaptation from any of them. The service of 1549 began, as the present English service begins, with the three anthems: 'I am the Resurrection,' etc. The first had been the antiphon to Benedictus, the second was from the Sarum Vigils of the Dead (called the Dirge, from the first antiphon, which began with the word Dirige), the third was added by the compilers. On coming to the grave the two anthems 'Man that is born of a woman' and 'In the midst of life' were said or sung. The former was taken from the Vigils of the Dead, the latter is a Prose or Sequence ascribed to Notker, a monk of S. Gall in Switzerland in the ninth century. It was used in the Sarum Breviary as an antiphon to Nunc Dimittis in Lent. Then followed the commendation, an expansion of that in the Sarum Office. The rubric was: 'Then the priest casting earth upon the corpse shall say, I commend thy soul to God the Father Almighty, and thy body to the ground, earth to earth,' etc. Then the anthem 'I heard a voice from heaven,' —the antiphon to Magnificat in the Vigils,—and then two prayers, which conclude the service at the grave. These prayers are very beautiful adaptations from some of those in the Sarum Office, and they may be given here in full.

Let us pray.

We commend into thy hands of mercy (most merciful Father), the soul of this our brother departed, N. And his body we commit to the earth, beseeching thine infinite goodness, to give us grace to live in thy fear and love, and to die in thy favour: that when the judgment shall come, which thou hast committed to thy well-beloved Son, both this our brother, and we may be found acceptable in thy sight, and receive that blessing, which thy well-beloved Son shall then pronounce to all that love and fear thee, saying: Come, ye blessed Children of my Father: Receive the kingdom prepared for you before the beginning of the world. Grant this, merciful Father, for the honour of Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, Mediator, and Advocate.

This prayer shall also be added.

Almighty God, we give thee hearty thanks for this thy servant, whom thou hast delivered from the miseries of this wretched world, from the body of death, and all temptation. And, as we trust, hast brought his soul, which he committed into thy holy hands, into sure consolation and rest. Grant, we beseech thee, that at the day of judgment his soul and all the souls of thy elect, departed out of this life, may with us and we with them, fully receive thy promises, and be made perfect altogether through the glorious resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord.

Besides these anthems and prayers, which were said at the grave, there was a service in the church which might be said either before or after the burial of the corpse. It began with Psalms cxvi., cxlvi., and cxxxix., followed by the lesson, 1 Cor. xv. Then came 'Lord have mercy,' etc., the Lord's Prayer, and the versicles which followed it in the Sarum Office with a concluding prayer.

Priest. Enter not (O Lord) into judgment with thy servant.
Answer. For in thy sight no living creature shall be justified.
Priest. From the gates of hell.
Answer. Deliver their souls, O Lord.
Priest. I believe to see the goodness of the Lord.
Answer. In the land of the living,
Priest. O Lord, graciously hear my prayer.
Answer. And let my cry come unto thee.

Let us pray.

O Lord, with whom do live the spirits of them that be dead: and in whom the souls of them that be elected, after they be delivered from the burden of the flesh, be in joy and felicity: Grant unto this thy servant, that the sins which he committed in this world be not imputed unto him, but that he, escaping the

gates of hell, and pains of eternal darkness, may ever dwell in the region of light, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the place where is no weeping, sorrow, or heaviness: and when that dreadful day of the general resurrection shall come, make him to rise also with the just and righteous, and receive this body again to glory then made pure and incorruptible, set him on the right hand of thy Son Jesus Christ, among thy holy and elect, that he may hear with them those most sweet and comfortable words: Come to me ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom which hath been prepared for you from the beginning of the world: Grant this we beseech thee, O merciful Father: through Jesus Christ our mediator and redeemer.

This was the end of the office. Immediately after it came:

The Celebration of the Holy Communion when there is a Burial of the Dead.

The Introit was Psalm xlii. The Collect was 'O merciful God,' etc., but with a different ending from that which it has now. The Epistle was 1 Thess. iv. 13, and the Gospel, John vi. 35-41.

Changes in 1552.—In the revision of 1552 nothing was added to the service, but a good deal was omitted. This is not surprising; indeed, under the circumstances of the time, it is a matter for more wonder that anything was left. The extreme reformers objected to any burial service at all; they had a positive horror of prayers for the departed; and they had already developed that strong dislike to the singing of psalms, which was afterwards a mark of the Puritans, who, however, consented to waive their objections when the Psalms were translated into doggerel verse. The omissions and changes of 1552 shew that pressure was put on by the extremists, and partially yielded to, probably with reluctance, by Cranmer, or the persons, whoever they were, who effected the revision. The anthems were left unchanged; the form of commendation was altered to that which remains in the present office; in the rubric before it the earth is ordered to be cast 'by some standing by,' which may include the priest, but does not specify him. The two prayers given above as following the commendation were omitted entirely, and also the psalms and the rubric directing the psalms and lessons to be said in the church. The omission of this rubric made the introductory rubric about going either into the church or to the grave, which

has never been altered, somewhat absurd. In the 1549 office, if the procession went into the church first, the psalms and lessons would be said then, and the celebration of the Holy Communion would take place. But in the 1552 office, if the procession went into the church first, it would have to come out again immediately for the interment, unless indeed the celebration took place then. After the Lord's Prayer the versicles were omitted, and the following prayer, the only prayer retained, changed into its present form, except that it contained a mention of the departed by name. It is to be observed that this prayer, which was entirely rewritten in 1552, still contained a distinct intercession both for the person just deceased, and for all the departed, though in a form as little conspicuous as might be. The special Introit, Epistle, and Gospel for the funeral Eucharist were omitted, and only the Collect, with slight modification, retained.

Significance of these changes.—The changes made in the Burial Service of 1552 are well worthy of close attention, for they strongly confirm the view put forward earlier in this book, that the revision of 1552 was the result of Puritan agitation and pressure brought to bear upon revisers who did not themselves wish for change, and who endeavoured to preserve the principles of the first Prayer Book on disputed points, while presenting them in a form as little conspicuous as possible, and giving way upon minor points. The chief points objected to in the Burial Service were the use of psalms, prayers for the dead, and a special celebration of the Holy Communion. Psalms were a primitive feature of the service, but no principle was involved in their use, and they were given up. Of the prayers for the departed in the office of 1549 two were expunged, and the third was rewritten. But in rewriting it the revisers saved the principle of praying for the departed in a clause which was calculated to attract as little attention as possible. The words 'beseeching thee that it may please thee . . . shortly to accomplish the number of thy elect, and to haste thy kingdom; that we, with this our brother, and all other departed in the true faith of thy holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and

soul, in thy eternal and everlasting glory' are in the spirit of the primitive prayers for the departed, and preserve the English Church from the charge of having ignored the doctrine of the Communion of Saints. Similarly, while the special Introit, Epistle, and Gospel for the celebration of the Holy Communion were omitted, the Collect was retained, so as to preserve the principle that a funeral ought to be accompanied by a celebration of the Holy Mysteries. Unfortunately the revisers of 1661, by placing 'The grace of our Lord,' etc., after the collect, obscured the fact that it was intended to be used as a collect, and not to be used as the concluding prayer of the service at the grave.

The other changes made in 1661 were the restoration of the psalms after the introductory anthems, and the transposition of the lesson from its former position to its present place after the psalms. It was also made clear that the psalms and lessons were to be read in church, and the rest of the service at the grave. The first rubric, about the cases in which the office is not to be used, was also added. The prayer for the dead, quoted above, was slightly altered, the words 'this our brother' being omitted before the mention of the other faithful departed.

§ 6. *The Commination.*

This service was composed in 1549. The title then was 'The first day of Lent, commonly called Ash-Wednesday.' In 1552 was substituted 'A Commination against sinners, with certain prayers, to be used divers times in the year.' This was changed to the present title in 1661. The Benediction at the end was added in 1661, and a few other slight changes made. In the ancient services there was nothing that corresponded at all nearly to the first part of this service, except the sentences of the greater excommunication, which were commonly read in parish churches three or four times a year. Some of the reformers were very anxious to restore the primitive practice of public penance in church, which was indeed occasionally practised, at least until the latter part of the eighteenth century, and they put forward this service as a sort of substitute. The Miserere and most of what follows was taken from the Sarum services for Ash-Wednesday.

CHAPTER V

THE ORDINAL

Holy Orders.—'It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church: Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.' This admirable historical statement, which begins the preface to the present English Ordinal, has received ample confirmation from recent research, but this is not the place to discuss it. Like the other assumptions of the service, it must be taken for granted. The Ordinal states or implies throughout not only that Christ founded a Church in the sense of a visible society, but that he also provided it with a Ministry in the persons of the Apostles, and that the existing Orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, which are to be 'continued' in the Church of England, have come down by an uninterrupted devolution from them, and with the sanction of a Divine commission. The words and actions with which Orders are conferred would be mere profanity unless it were believed that a Divine and not a human commission was conveyed. And because they have this sanction, the rubrics assume that Orders derived from the Apostles are not convenient or expedient, but '*necessary* in the Church of Christ.' All this is assumed here.[1]

Minor Orders.—It must be noted, however, that the 'necessity' of the three Apostolic Orders has never been held to debar the Church from intrusting subordinate

[1] On these questions see Gore's *Church and the Ministry* and *The Mission of the Church*, and Moberly's *Ministerial Priesthood*.

functions to special classes of men, as occasion might arise. Such 'Minor Orders' may be instituted or discontinued or revived as may be expedient. In the Eastern Churches some of the functions of the diaconate have been intrusted to subdeacons, and varying minor offices exist. At Rome the subordinate offices of acolytes, readers, exorcists, and doorkeepers early made their appearance. In the year 251 there were at Rome under the pope forty-six priests, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, forty-two acolytes, and fifty-two members of the inferior orders of exorcists, readers, and porters. The number of deacons, subdeacons, and acolytes clearly has reference to the seven ecclesiastical 'regions' into which Rome had been divided. The same minor Orders, with the exception sometimes of that of acolyte, are found in the Gallican Churches.

Primitive Ordinations.—The Gospels tell us much of the calling and training of the Apostles, and of the commissions given to them (Matt. x., etc.). But the chief commission was given on the evening of the Resurrection, when our Lord appeared in the midst of the disciples and said:—

'Peace be unto you: as the Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.'

Our Lord's action in breathing on his Apostles was never repeated. We find in the Acts that the laying on of hands had taken its place. The laying on of hands with prayer is the only ceremony at Ordination that we find mentioned in the New Testament, but no particular form of words is specified, and for a long period no further ceremonies were introduced. Fasting is mentioned in the New Testament as an adjunct, but this in primitive times was the habitual accompaniment of sacramental or solemn actions. (See Acts vi. 6; xiii. 3; xiv. 23; 1 Tim. iv. 14; v. 22; 2 Tim. i. 6.) In the Apostolic Constitutions there are forms of prayer to accompany the imposition of hands in the Ordination of Readers, Subdeacons, Deacons, Deaconesses, Presbyters, and Bishops.

In the case of bishops the book of the Four Gospels was held over the head of the Ordinand during the recitation of the prayer. This rite, although it could not have been practised in the earliest ordinations before the Gospels were written, was certainly very early, and became general.[1] A bishop after consecration received the kiss of peace, was enthroned, and celebrated the Eucharist.

Early Roman Forms.—The Sacramentaries and other documents of the seventh and eighth centuries contain a number of forms for Ordinations, some apparently Roman and others Gallican. Among the Roman forms there are none relating to the three lowest Orders. If any ceremony took place it was in private. The acolyte and the subdeacon received a short benediction from the pope or another bishop during the Mass, but even this formula is not very ancient, and contains no allusion to their special duties. Deacons and priests were ordained on the Saturday of one of the four Ember seasons. Before the Gospel the archdeacon presented the candidates for the diaconate to the pope, who then rose and addressed the people with an invitation to prayer.

'Dearly beloved, let us pray God the Father Almighty, that on these his servants whom he vouchsafeth to call to the office of the diaconate he may mercifully pour forth the benediction of his grace, and preserve the gifts of the consecration bestowed.'

The litany was then sung, and then the pope rose, and, laying his hands on the heads of each of the candidates, said two prayers, the first a short prayer for a blessing on those who were being ordained, the second a eucharistic prayer, of parts of which the following is a translation :—

[1] In the Apostolic Constitutions, and in the forms for consecrating the Bishops of Rome and Alexandria, only the Gospels are mentioned, and not a separate imposition of hands. If the latter were really omitted, it has been suggested that the reason may have been that Christ himself, as represented by the Gospels, was regarded as the consecrator. The suffragan bishops in the provinces of Rome and Alexandria did not have the Gospels held over them.

'Be present, we beseech thee, Almighty God. . . . Look, we beseech thee, O Lord, on these thy servants, whom we dedicate to serve at thy sacred (altars) in the office of the diaconate. . . . Send upon them, we beseech thee, O Lord, the holy Spirit, by whom they may be strengthened by the gift of thy sevenfold grace for the work of faithfully fulfilling their ministry. May all virtue abound in them . . . that . . . bearing the testimony of a good conscience they may persevere firm and stedfast in Christ, and by a worthy progress from this inferior office may by thy grace obtain a higher ministry.'

The rites of ordination of priests and bishops were of precisely the same type, but the prayers were different. The prayer for the consecration of priests does not speak in any detail of the duties of their office, and it regards them as assistants to the bishop. The most definite expressions are these:—

'Grant, we beseech thee, O Father, to these thy servants the dignity of the presbyterate. . . . May they be good fellow-workers with our order . . . that they may give a good account of the stewardship committed to them, and obtain the rewards of eternal blessedness.'

The prayer for the consecration of bishops is fuller:—

'. . . to these thy servants whom thou hast chosen to the ministry of the highest priesthood give thy grace. . . . May their feet be beautiful to bring the good tidings of peace. . . . Give to them, Lord, the ministry of reconciliation in word and in deeds. . . . Give them, Lord, the keys of the kingdom of heaven; may they use, not boast, the power which thou givest for edification not for destruction. May whatsoever they have bound upon earth, etc. . . . May they be faithful servants whom thou mayest set over thy household. . . . Give them an episcopal seat to rule thy Church and the whole people. . . .'

Gallican Forms.—Such was the extreme simplicity of the ancient Roman forms of ordination. The ceremony, like the ordinations mentioned in the New Testament, consisted entirely in the laying on of hands with prayer. Nothing had been added. But these forms are not all that are contained in the Gelasian Sacramentary. There are also Gallican forms, which are somewhat more elaborate. Here we find ceremonies for the minor orders, of porter, reader, exorcist, and subdeacon; the order of acolytes does not appear to have existed everywhere. These orders were conferred, not by the laying on of

hands, but by the **traditio instrumentorum**, the handing to the ordinand of the object with which he would have to do,—a key to the porter, a book to the reader, etc., with an appropriate formula, and a benediction. The deacons and priests are presented by the bishop to the people for their approval: 'Dearly beloved brethren. . . . I wish to advance our son N. to the office of a deacon. . . . I desire to know whether ye deem him worthy of this office; and if your election agree with mine, approve your testimony with your voices.' The people reply, 'He is worthy,' and the bishop, after an invitation to prayer, pronounces the prayer of benediction, while he lays his hands on the candidates. In the case of priests all the priests present join in the imposition of hands. The prayer for the priests is shorter than the Roman prayer, but to the same purport, and it contains an explicit reference to the celebration of the Eucharist: '. . . that he may guard the gift of thy ministry pure and immaculate, and transform the body and blood of thy Son by an immaculate benediction. . . .' There does not appear to be any Gallican prayer extant for the consecration of bishops; the form given in the Gelasian Sacramentary is thought to be entirely Roman. After the ordination there was a ceremony specially characteristic of the Gallican uses,—the anointing of the hands of the newly ordained bishops and priests, and in some places of the deacons also.

Sarum Use.—When we turn from the Gelasian Sacramentary to the Sarum Pontifical, that is, from the Roman usages of the eighth century to those of the fifteenth, we pass from services of great simplicity to services of great complexity, and in the case at least of the ordination of priests, of a confusing nature. Not only have the independent but similar Roman and Gallican formularies been combined in a single service, but fresh ceremonies have been added. *The traditio instrumentorum, formerly used in conferring the minor orders in the place of the imposition of hands, is now added to that essential ceremony in the case of the higher orders.* The solemn vesting of the ministers in their appropriate dress is also added, the *Veni Creator* is recited as a

separate ceremony, and in the case of priests there is a second imposition of hands at the very end of the service with the recital of our Lord's own words, 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' etc. It is not surprising that quite mistaken views about the essential features of ordination should have arisen, and that it should have been held for centuries that one of these ceremonies, the traditio instrumentorum, was the 'form' or essential outward sign of ordination.

The **mediæval services** must be briefly described. Ordinations took place, in the case of all Orders except the Episcopate, on the Saturday of one of the four Ember seasons, and as had always been the case, in the course of the Mass. The candidates for minor orders were presented to the bishop by the archdeacon, in much the same form as in the present English service, and ordained before the Epistle, with the same ceremonies and prayers, somewhat expanded, as are found in the Gelasian Sacramentary. There was a lection from the Old Testament after the ordination to each of the orders of doorkeeper, reader, exorcist, and acolyte, and the Epistle followed the ordination of the subdeacons. Then the candidates for the diaconate and priesthood come forward and the litany is sung, with special petitions for the ordinands. Then the bishop says to those who are to be deacons, 'It is the duty of a deacon to minister at the altar, to read the Gospel, to baptize, and to preach,' and laying his hands on each says in a low voice, 'Receive the Holy Ghost.' Then he recites the Roman prayer of consecration described above, he delivers the stole and book of the Gospels, recites the Gallican prayer, and delivers the dalmatic, and one of the newly ordained reads the Gospel. The candidates for the priesthood then come forward, and the bishop says, 'It is the duty of a priest to offer, to bless, to preside, to preach, [to make, conficere], and to baptize.' The bishop and the priests present lay their hands on the candidates, and the bishop recites the Roman prayer of consecration. Then the priests are vested in stole and chasuble, and the Gallican prayer follows. Then the *Veni Creator* is sung, all kneeling. Then the bishop blesses and anoints the

hands of the priests. Then he delivers to them the paten with the host and the chalice with wine, and says, 'Take power to offer sacrifice to God, and to celebrate Mass both for the living and for the dead. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.' The service then proceeds, and all the priests communicate after the bishop. Before the post-communion, the bishop again lays his hands on each, and says, 'Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins thou shalt remit, they are remitted unto them: and whose sins thou shalt retain, they shall be retained.'

Bishops were consecrated always on a Sunday. Before the Mass began the bishop-elect was presented to the metropolitan, and examined at length, as in the present English service. This ceremony appears to have been introduced into the French and English Churches about the eleventh century, and it was afterwards inserted in the Roman Pontifical. When all the questions had been answered, the Mass began. After the Gradual the bishop-elect is again led to the metropolitan, who says, 'It is the duty of a bishop to judge, to interpret, to consecrate, to confirm, to ordain, to offer, and to baptize.' Then follows the litany. Then two bishops hold the book of the Gospels over the head of the ordinand, and the others lay their hands on his head; *Veni Creator* is sung, and the archbishop recites the Gelasian prayer. In the midst of it he anoints the head of the elect with chrism. Another prayer peculiar to the English use follows; then the head and hands are anointed, and the staff, ring, mitre, and book of the Gospels are delivered, all with appropriate formulas. The Sarum Pontifical does not contain, as the modern Roman Pontifical does, the words 'Receive the Holy Ghost' at the laying on of hands.

Ordinal of 1550.—It will not be necessary to describe the contents of the first English Ordination services in detail, as they are practically the same as those now in use. It will be sufficient to call attention to the principal changes made by the first revisers, and to mention the few modifications which have been made since.

It must be noted that the revisers had before them only the Sarum services, and that they had no means of ascer-

taining the exact history of the different forms contained in them. Some simplification, especially in the service for the Ordination of Priests, was urgently required, and the revisers rightly made it their chief object to bring into prominence the necessary and Scriptural ceremony of imposition of hands with prayer. But the changes made were certainly not revolutionary, and there was no wholesale discontinuance even of the later mediæval additions. The chief changes may be summed up as follows:—

i. Nothing was said about the **Minor Orders**. These had been much abused by the ordination of numbers of unsuitable persons in the Middle Ages. Provision was now made only for the 'necessary' Orders, and the rest were left to be revived, as is being done at the present day, when occasion might arise.

ii. It was made quite clear that the '**matter**,' or necessary outward act of ordination, was the imposition of hands.

iii. It was also made quite clear what '**form**' of words was intended to convey Orders. In the case of the priesthood the words of our Lord himself, 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' etc., although introduced into the service in the Middle Ages, were chosen as the most emphatic and unmistakable form possible. In the case of bishops the imposition of hands is immediately preceded by a shortened translation of the old Roman prayer of consecration, and in the case of priests and deacons by prayers which are not translations of, but which resemble, the Roman forms.

iv. The **examination** of the candidate, confined in the Sarum use to the case of bishops, was extended to priests and deacons, and put in the service itself, and not before it.

v. The **traditio or porrectio instrumentorum**—the New Testament for deacons, the Bible and the chalice with bread for priests, and the Bible and pastoral staff for bishops—was retained, but not in such a way as to be mistaken for the act of Ordination. The *Veni Creator* was also retained, but the ceremonial vesting of the newly ordained and the unction of hands were omitted.

Objections.—The English Ordination services have long been the object of hostile criticism, but it is unnecessary to enlarge upon this, for it is no longer seriously disputed that the forms contained in them are adequate in themselves. It is still, however, maintained that the Ordination of Priests shows a defective intention, inasmuch as it does not expressly confer the 'sacerdotium' or power of offering sacrifice. To this it may be replied, first, that the old Roman rite and other ancient rites do not mention sacrifice at all; secondly, that Ordination is to an office and not to any particular function of that office, and that it is not necessary to specify every function;[1] thirdly, that in giving power to minister the sacraments, the Church necessarily gives power to offer sacrifice; and fourthly, that even if the English Church took a wrong view of the functions of the ministry, this would not invalidate her orders if conferred by qualified persons with an adequate rite.

Changes since 1550.—It remains to notice the changes made in the Ordinal since 1550. In 1552 there were some characteristic omissions. The delivery of the chalice and pastoral staff and the laying the Bible on the neck of the bishop were omitted, and no mention was made of vestments, which had been albes for priests and deacons when first presented, a tunicle for the deacon who read the Gospel, and copes for the bishops. No further change was made until 1661. Then an important addition was made to the formulas used in ordaining bishops and priests. In the case of bishops it had been 'Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the Grace of God, which is in thee, by imposition of hands: for God hath not given,' etc. It now became 'Receive the Holy Ghost, *for the Office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the Imposition of our hands; In the Name . . . Amen.* And remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is *given* thee by *this* Imposition of *our* hands:

[1] It may be noted that the recently discovered Prayers of Bishop Sarapion (about 350 A.D.) contain a form for the Ordination of Presbyters, in which there is neither a mention of the office, nor of the power of offering sacrifice.

For God hath not,' etc. The form for priests had been 'Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins,' etc. It now became 'Receive the Holy Ghost *for the Office and work of a Priest in the Church of God now committed unto thee by the Imposition of our hands.* Whose sins,' etc. These additions make it as clear as human language can make it what the English Church holds as to the nature of the Divine gift conferred and the means by which it is conferred, but they do not imply any acknowledgment that the previous forms had been deficient. They were intended to emphasise the doctrine of the English Church against Presbyterian and Puritan views.

Other changes were as follows: The title was enlarged; the conclusion of the first paragraph of the Preface was recast, so as to make it more clear that the English Church recognises only Episcopal Ordination; the age for the diaconate was changed from 21 to 23; the Ordination of Priests and Deacons is to be at one of the four Ember seasons, and only on some urgent occasion upon some other Sunday or Holy-day; that of Bishops is always to be on some Sunday or Holy-day; the deacons and priests are to be 'decently habited'; the bishop-elect is to wear first a rochet, and to 'put on the rest of the Episcopal habit' before his consecration; the bishop is set 'in his chair near to the Holy Table' when the candidates are presented to him; the candidates for priesthood are presented, like the deacons, before the Litany, instead of after the Gospel; in the fifth question to the deacons 'in the absence of the priest to baptize infants' is substituted for 'to Baptize,' and in the same question, as also in the address to the bishop-elect, 'congregation' is changed into 'Church'; in the Ordination of Priests the shorter translation of the *Veni Creator* was added, and instead of being sung immediately after the Gospel, it was placed in the more suitable position which it now occupies; the seventh question in the examination of a bishop-elect, about the work of Ordination, was added; the prayer 'Prevent us, O Lord' and the Benediction were added at the end of all three services; changes were made in the Epistles and Gospels, and various small verbal alterations were made.

Note.—Further information about the question of the validity of English Orders may be found in the tracts published by the Church Historical Society.

CHAPTER VI

THE SCOTTISH LITURGY

An account of the Book of Common Prayer would be incomplete without some description of that beautiful Liturgy, one of the most beautiful and complete in existence, which is known as 'The Communion Office of the Church of Scotland.' It is quite beyond the scope of this work to describe the circumstances which caused the Reformation movement to take in Scotland a course so different from that which it assumed in England. It must suffice to say that in the sixteenth century all ancient forms of devotion were swept away together with the historical continuity of the Church. Calvinism was introduced and a Presbyterian form of government was set up in 1592. Episcopacy was restored in 1610, but it was not until after the accession of Charles I. in 1625 that final steps were taken to provide for Scotland a liturgy both Catholic and reformed. It was at first proposed to introduce the English Book of Common Prayer without modification, and this was the wish of Archbishop Laud; but it was represented that this would be offensive to Scottish national feeling, and a separate book was drawn up. The work was mainly effected by two learned Scottish bishops, Maxwell and Wedderburne, and it was revised by Laud and Wren, bishop of Norwich. The differences from the English book were in a few points, such as the substitution of 'Presbyter' for 'Priest,' and the omission of sentences taken from the Apocrypha, designed to conciliate the prevailing tone of religious feeling in Scotland, but in the main the book conforms more closely to Catholic usage than the English book, and distinctly

reverts to the book of 1549. The most important points in the Liturgy are the restoration of the **Invocation** before and the **Oblation** immediately after the words of Institution, a specific direction for the **Offertory**, a **Commemoration of the Departed**, and the omission of the second clause in the formula of delivery. The fate of this book is well known. Its use in the cathedral of S. Giles in Edinburgh on Sunday, July 23, 1637, led to a riot which set in motion a train of events that culminated in the Great Rebellion. After the Restoration, Episcopacy was again reintroduced into Scotland, but no book was prescribed, and the services were conducted with little ceremony or even decency. In 1690 William III. made Presbyterianism the established religion of Scotland, and it has remained so to this day. In Anne's reign copies of the English Book of Common Prayer were largely introduced into Scotland for the use of the disestablished Episcopalians. Many were presented by the liberality of English churchmen, the University of Oxford giving much assistance, and these books came into general use. The Invocation and Oblation were sometimes added to the English form of consecration. The Scottish book of 1637 was also reprinted in 1712, and occasionally used. Meanwhile the more learned **Non-jurors** in England, being now free from State control, were desirous of approximating more closely in liturgical worship to primitive and catholic usage. They laid special stress upon four points, called the **Usages**, viz.: the **Invocation**, the **Oblation**, the **Commemoration of the Departed**, and the **Mixed Chalice**. In 1718 a Liturgy was produced which was principally the work of Bishops Jeremy Collier and Thomas Brett. It embodied the usages, and made the order of the canon conform to that of the Syrian Liturgies. The wording of the prayers also was taken from ancient Eastern services to a far greater extent than in the earlier English books. It is a service of extreme beauty, and worthy of the most attentive study. Upon the Scottish service its influence was considerable. Scottish bishops had probably assisted in its preparation, and the question of the 'usages' soon became pressing in the Scottish Church. They appear to have been upheld only by a minority, but by a minority whose

zeal and learning tended to prevail. In 1724 and 1731 concordats were arrived at, the second of which formally recognised the Liturgy of 1637. This had already been printed in 1724 by Bishop James Gadderar, beginning with the Offertory, and omitting the two exhortations used in giving notice, and the concluding rubrics and collects. Those who used this book were accustomed to change the order of the parts, and to assimilate it to that of the book of 1549. An edition was published as a private venture in 1735, which arranged the parts in conformity to the ordinary practice, and had the note on the title-page, 'All the parts of this Office are ranked in the natural order.' The words 'militant here on earth' were also omitted, and in the Oblation, after the words 'these thy holy gifts' was added 'which we now offer unto thee.' In 1744 a book by Bishop Rattray was published, called *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*, a work of remarkable learning and judgment, which greatly influenced opinion, and was the chief cause of the important change of placing the Invocation after the Oblation, and so conforming, as the Non-jurors' Liturgy had done, to the order of the Eastern Liturgies. This change was incorporated in an edition published in 1755. Finally in 1764 the Primus, Falconar, and Bishop R. Forbes published a book which was rapidly accepted, and has become the authorised Liturgy of the Scottish Episcopal Church, only trifling verbal alterations having been made in later editions. This book was sanctioned by canons in 1811, 1828, 1838, and 1863. Unhappily on the last occasion its use was considerably restricted in favour of the English service.

The American Liturgy.—The influence of this beautiful Liturgy has spread far beyond the limits of Scotland. On November 14, 1784, when the Scottish Episcopal Church had been almost extinguished by persecution, Samuel Seabury was consecrated by three Scottish bishops in an upper room at Aberdeen to be the first bishop of the American Church. The Scottish Liturgy came in consequence to be much used in America. When in 1789 the American Church agreed on its Liturgy, the order and contents of the English service were for the most part

followed, but the most important features of the Scottish Office—the Oblation and Invocation immediately following the Institution—were happily preserved.

The following is a more detailed account of the books of 1637, 1718, and 1764. In 1637 the order of the English service was generally retained. Presbyter was substituted for Priest. The table was to stand at the east end (*i.e.* altar-wise), and the Presbyter at 'the north side or end.' The people were to stand for the Gospel, and to say 'Glory be to thee, O Lord,' and 'Thanks be to thee, O Lord.' There was a different selection of Offertory sentences, taken from the Authorised Version, and none were taken from the Apocrypha. The Presbyter was to 'offer up and place the bread and wine... upon the Lord's Table,' but there was no verbal oblation. The prayer for the Church still came before the Anaphora, but a commemoration of the departed was placed at the end of it, though the words 'militant here on earth' were retained. The end of the prayer ran thus: '... all the days of their life. [And we commend especially to thy merciful goodness the congregation which is here assembled in thy name to celebrate the commemoration of the most precious death and sacrifice of thy Son and our Saviour Jesus Christ.] And we most humbly... adversity. And we also bless thy holy name for all those thy servants who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours. And we yield unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints, who have been the choice vessels of thy grace, and the lights of the world in their several generations: most humbly beseeching thee, that we may have grace to follow the example of their stedfastness in thy faith, and obedience to thy holy commandments, that at the day of the general resurrection we, and all they which are of the mystical body of thy Son, may be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Grant this....' In the Prayer of Consecration the Invocation of 1549, with the addition of the words 'so that we receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution,' etc., preceded the Institution. The Oblation followed, as in 1549, concluding with the Lord's Prayer. The Prayer of Humble Access came immediately before the Communion, and only the first clause in the Administration was used.

In the Non-jurors' book of 1718 the words Priest and Altar were restored. An Introit and the Kyrie preceded the Lord's Prayer. A Summary of the Law with one response replaced the Commandments. The directions for the Offertory, including the mixture of the Chalice, were those of 1549, and an Offertory prayer from Eastern sources was added. The Benedictus was added to the Gloria. The Commemoration which began the

Canon, and the Oblation and Invocation which followed the Institution, were different from those of 1549, and were taken from Eastern sources. The prayer for the Church followed the Invocation, and was that of 1549. 'The peace of the Lord . . .' and 'Christ our Paschal Lamb . . .' followed the Lord's Prayer. The whole of the 'Order of Communion' of 1548 came immediately before reception.

The chief points in which the service of 1764 differed from that of 1637 were the following: The Summary of the Law was made alternative to the Commandments, and a collect might take the place of the prayer for the king. 'The Lord be with you' was replaced before Sursum Corda. The Oblation contained the words 'which we now offer unto thee' in conspicuous type, and the Invocation followed it, in these words: 'And we most humbly beseech thee, O merciful Father, to hear us, and of thy almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with thy Word and Holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may become the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son. And we earnestly desire thy fatherly goodness,' etc. The prayer for the Church ('militant here on earth' being omitted) followed, with the conclusion of 1637. The whole of the preparation comes immediately before the Communion.

NOTE.—Detailed information on the subject of this chapter can be obtained from Dowden's *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

NOTE A

PLINY, when governor of Bithynia in 112 A.D., wrote to the Emperor Trajan to ask how far he was to act with severity towards the Christians in his province; and he gives the following account of their practices from information obtained from those who had submitted:—

'They stated that this was the sum of their fault or error: namely, that they were accustomed to meet on a stated day before dawn, and to sing alternately a hymn to Christ as to a god, and they said that they bound themselves by a sacrament not to the commission of any wicked deed, but to abstain from theft, and robbery, and adultery, not to break their word, and not to withhold a deposit when reclaimed. This done, it was their practice, they said, to separate, and then to meet again for a meal, which, however, was of the ordinary kind, and quite harmless. But even from this they had desisted since my edict, in which, according to your commands, I had forbidden the existence of clubs.'

Justin Martyr wrote his first Apology probably in 152 A.D. to the Emperor Antoninus Pius. It is intended to vindicate the Christians from some of the many false charges of immorality and disloyalty brought against them. He shortly describes the Eucharistic service, but in general terms that would be intelligible to a pagan, and without going into details.

'After we have thus washed (baptized) him who has been convinced, we lead him to the place where those who are called brethren are assembled, in order that we may offer hearty prayers. . . . Having ended the prayers, we salute one another with a kiss. Bread and a cup of wine mingled with water are then brought to the president of the brethren, and he taking them gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and offers thanks at considerable length. . . . And when the president has given thanks, and all the people have expressed their assent, those who are called by us deacons give each of those present the bread and wine mixed with water, over which the thanksgiving was

pronounced, and they carry away a portion to those who are not present.

'And this food is called among us the Eucharist. . . . We do not receive these things as common bread and common drink, but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, having been made flesh by the Word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of the Word which comes from him, and from which our blood and flesh are nourished by transmutation, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh.'

Later on he describes the service again:—

'On the day called Sunday all who live in cities or in the country come together to one place, and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read as long as time permits. Then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then all rise together and offer prayers. And, as we have said before, when we have finished the prayer, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings as he has power, and the people assent, saying Amen, and there is a distribution to each, and a participation in the Eucharistic elements, and portions are sent to those who are not present by the deacons.'

The newly discovered Prayers of Bishop Sarapion (about 350 A.D.) confirm the account given above of the early liturgies. A point to be noticed in the Eucharistic prayer is that the Invocation is of the Logos and not of the Holy Spirit.

NOTE B

THE SARUM CANON OF THE MASS

I. *Te igitur.*—Thee therefore, most merciful Father, we humbly ask and beseech through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, that thou wouldest accept and bless these gifts, these offerings, these holy unimpaired sacrifices. Which we offer to thee first for thy holy catholic church, to which mayest thou vouchsafe to give peace, to protect, unite, and rule it in all the world, together with thy servant our pope N., and our bishop N., and our king N., and all the orthodox and worshippers of the catholic and apostolic faith.

Memento Domine.—Remember, Lord, thy servants and handmaidens N. and N., and all present, whose faith and devotion are known to thee, for whom we offer to thee or who offer to thee this sacrifice of praise for themselves and all theirs, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and safety, and pay their vows to thee the eternal living and true God.

Communicantes.—Communicating with and venerating the memory, first of the glorious, ever-virgin Mary, mother of our God

and Lord Jesus Christ, and of thy blessed apostles and martyrs, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddæus; Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Grisogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and all thy Saints; by whose merits and prayers grant that in all things we may be fortified by the help of thy protection. Through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Hanc igitur oblationem.—This oblation therefore of our service, and also of thy whole family, we pray thee, Lord, graciously to accept; and to dispose our days in thy peace, and bid us be delivered from eternal condemnation and be numbered in the flock of thine elect. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

K. (*d*)? *Quam oblationem.*—Which oblation do thou, almighty God, in all respects, we pray, vouchsafe to make blessed, approved, ratified, reasonable, and acceptable, that it may become to us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ.

K. (*e*). *Qui pridie.*—Who on the day before he suffered took bread into his holy and venerable hands, and having lifted up his eyes to heaven to thee God, his Father almighty, giving thanks to thee bl-ĭ-essed, brake, and gave to his disciples, saying, Take and eat ye all of this. For this is my body.

Simili modo.—In like manner after supper, taking also this excellent cup into his holy and venerable hands, likewise giving thanks to thee, he bl-ĭ-essed, and gave to his disciples, saying, Take and drink ye all of it. For this is the cup of my blood of the new and eternal testament, the mystery of faith, which shall be poured out for you and for many for the remission of sins. As often as ye shall do these things, ye shall do them in remembrance of me.

K. (*e*). *Unde et memores.*—Wherefore also, O Lord, we thy servants, and thy holy people, mindful of the so blessed passion of the same thy Son Christ our Lord God, and also of his resurrection from the dead, and glorious ascension into heaven, offer to thine excellent majesty of thy gifts and bounties a pu-ĭ-re host, a ho-ĭ-ly host, a spot-ĭ-less host, the holy br-ĭ-ead of eternal life, and the c-ĭ-up of everlasting salvation.

Supra quæ propitio.—On which vouchsafe to look with propitious and serene countenance, and to accept as thou didst vouchsafe to accept the offerings of thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that which thy high priest Melchisedech offered to thee, a holy sacrifice, a spotless host.

K. (*d*)? *Supplices te rogamus.*—We humbly beseech thee, almighty God, bid these things to be borne by the hands of thy holy Angel to thine altar on high, in the sight of thy divine majesty, that as many of us as shall by this partaking of the Altar have received the holy Bo-ĭ-dy and Bl-ĭ-ood of thy Son, may

be fulfilled with all heavenly bene✝diction and grace, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

L. *Memento etiam.*—Remember also, O Lord, the souls of thy servants and handmaidens N. and N. who have gone before us with the sign of faith, and rest in the sleep of peace; to them, O Lord, and to all who rest in Christ, we pray thee to grant a place of refreshment, of light and of peace. Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

Nobis quoque peccatoribus.—To us sinners also thy servants, hoping in the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to grant some part and fellowship with thy holy apostles and martyrs, with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia, and with all thy Saints, into whose company, we beseech thee, admit us, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences. Through Christ our Lord. [Amen.]

D. (*c*). *Per quem haec omnia.*—By whom, O Lord, thou dost always create, sancti✝fy, quick✝en, bl✝ess, and bestow upon us all these good things. Through h✝im and with h✝im and in h✝im is to thee God the Father alm✝ighty in the unity of the Holy ✝ Ghost all honour and glory. For ever and ever. Amen.

M. Let us pray. Admonished by salutary precepts and directed by divine instruction, we dare to say: Our Father . . .

NOTE C

THE DOCTRINE OF THE EUCHARIST

It is impossible to discuss this subject fully within the limits of a note, but a short explanation must be given of some of the terms used in the text. It must be remembered that opinions on a subject such as this cannot be exactly classified and labelled, but the following are in outline the chief views that have to be taken into account:—

i. *The doctrine of the Real Presence.*—All Christians in the Early Church believed that the bread and wine offered in the Eucharist were made by consecration to be truly the Body and Blood of Christ. The presence, in modern language, was believed to be objective, *i.e.* not dependent on the minds of the receivers. But no assertion was made as to the manner in which Christ came to be present, except that it was through the operation of the Holy Ghost and Christ himself.

ii. *Transubstantiation and Consubstantiation.*—The philosophers of the Middle Ages believed that things consisted of substance and accidents. The accidents of a thing are what can be apprehended by the senses (*i.e.* colour, shape, taste, chemical properties, etc.); the substance is a mysterious something which

is supposed to remain when all these are taken away, and which yet makes the thing to be what it is. This theory came to be applied to the Eucharist, and it was held that the *substance* of the bread and wine was by consecration changed into the *substance* of Christ's Body and Blood, the *accidents* of the bread and wine (*i.e.* everything that in modern language we should call *material*) remaining the same. The name of transubstantiation was sanctioned by the Lateran Council of 1215, and the doctrine was further defined at the Council of Trent, which ended in 1563. Meanwhile the word substance had come to be equivalent in popular use to the substance combined with the accidents, and at the time of the Reformation the doctrine was commonly supposed to imply a change in the accidents as well as the substance, *i.e.* a material change. In 1413 Sir John Oldcastle was actually burned for denying that 'the material bread' was turned into Christ's Body. This corrupted doctrine seems to overthrow the nature of a sacrament by doing away with the outward sign. It is against such 'carnal' views that Article xxviii. and the Declaration on Kneeling protest. Wiclif objected to the doctrine of Transubstantiation on the purely philosophical ground that the accidents must have a substance in which to inhere, and maintained that the substance of the bread and wine co-existed with the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ. The Lutheran doctrine is known as *Consubstantiation*. In its better form it resembles the doctrine of Wiclif, but there was a lower form which was very materialistic, and taught that the substances of bread and of Christ's Body are moulded up together. It must be noted, however, that neither the doctrine of Consubstantiation nor that of Transubstantiation, as now defined by the Roman Church, necessarily implies or even suggests a *material* presence of our Lord's Body in the Eucharist. The conception of substance may be antiquated, but it does not mean anything material.

iii. *The Receptionist doctrine.*—Calvin maintained that the benefit of the Body and Blood of Christ was communicated to the soul of the worthy receiver when he received the elements with the mouth. The Presence was therefore subjective and the elements were tokens, not channels, of a grace given. This view appears incompatible with the statement of Article xxv. that the sacraments are effectual signs (*efficacia signa*) of grace, the statement of Article xxviii. that 'the Body of Christ is *given*, *taken*, and eaten,' and the statement of the Catechism that the Body and Blood of Christ 'are verily and indeed *taken* and received.'

iv. *The Zwinglian doctrine.*—The doctrine held by the more extreme Swiss reformers that sacraments are mere signs, and the Eucharist a mere commemoration, is emphatically repudiated by Articles xxv., xxvii., and xxviii.

The doctrine of the *Eucharistic Sacrifice* has been much misunderstood, chiefly through mistaken or contracted views as to

the nature of sacrifice. It is a mistake to suppose that the true nature of sacrifice can be learnt from a study of Jewish or heathen systems, or that its essence consists in the destruction of life. It has been said that there is no true sacrifice in the Christian Church. In reality there is no true sacrifice anywhere else. To a Christian the sacrifice of Christ is the only true sacrifice, and Jewish and heathen sacrifices are only faint shadows of a reality. The essence of sacrifice is Divine love, which, entering into a world of sin, took a form subject to pain and death. The Eucharist is a sacrifice because it is the means appointed by Christ himself in order that the Church may plead the sacrifice of Christ and offer itself with him to God. Christ offered his sacrifice once, as far as death was concerned, upon earth, but he ever presents it in heaven (see Hebrews viii. 3; vii. 25; cf. ix. 7; xiii. 10). The doctrine against which the reformers wished to protest was the popular idea that sacrifice necessarily means a kind of death or annihilation, and that the death of Christ is in some way *repeated* in the Eucharist.

NOTE D

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR FURTHER STUDY

For a general introduction to English Church History at any period, Wakeman's *Introduction to the History of the Church of England* (Rivingtons) is unrivalled. *A History of the English Church* (by various authors, edited by Stephens and Hunt, published by Macmillans, to be completed in eight vols.), is admirable. The period of the Reformation may be studied in still greater detail in R. W. Dixon's *History of the Church of England*. For the history of the first two Prayer Books, Gasquet and Bishop's *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer* is most valuable.

For a simple introduction to the Book of Common Prayer, Stephens' *Helps to the Study of the Book of Common Prayer* (Clarendon Press), and B. Reynold's *Handbook to the Book of Common Prayer* (Rivingtons), may be recommended. Pullan's *History of the Book of Common Prayer* (Longmans), and Procter and Frere's *New History of the Book of Common Prayer* (Macmillan), are of a more advanced character. The latter book is a storehouse of full and accurate information.

For the Liturgy, Duchesne's *Origines du Culte Chrétien* must be read by every one who wishes to study the subject. It deals with the first eight centuries. An English translation is published by S. P. C. K. under the title of 'Christian Worship.' Warren's *Liturgy of the Ante-Nicene Church* gives accurate information about the first three centuries. These two books deal with the other public services as well as the Liturgy. Luckock's

Divine Liturgy treats the subject devotionally. The Eastern Liturgies themselves are now easily accessible in Mr. Brightman's magnificent edition. There are several good editions of the Sarum Missal, and Mr. Wilson's edition of the Gelasian Sacramentary is admirable.

The history of the daily office is given in a most attractive form in Batiffol's *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain*, of which there is an English translation. Bäumer's *Geschichte des Breviers* is a longer book. The Sarum Breviary and Quignonez' Breviary are published by the Cambridge Press.

For the early history of the occasional offices Duchesne and Warren may be consulted. The Sarum offices are to be found in Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*. Blomfield Jackson's edition of the Ordinal (S.P.C.K.) contains most valuable notes.

INDEX

NOTE.—It is hoped that this Index may serve to some extent as a Glossary Definitions will be found specially on pages marked by thick type.

ADMINISTRATION, Formula of, 11, 19, 38, 39, 50, 51.
Advertisements, Parker's, 12.
Agapé, 16, 17, 19.
Anaphora, 20, 22, 48, 78.
Anthem, 79, 106.
Antiphon, 60, 65, 71-73, 102.
Antiphonal Singing, 56, 60.
Antiphoner, 2.
Apostolic Constitutions, 19-24, 27, 45-51.
Athanasian Creed, 77.

BAPTISM, 2, 81-94.
Black Rubric. See Declaration on Kneeling.
Breviary, 1, 2, 67-73.
Burial, 2, 104-110.

CANON OF THE MASS, 7, 31, 35-37, 127-129.
Capitulum, 61-64, 71.
Catechumens, 17, 20, 21, 30, 46, 83-87.
Chrism, 86, 87, 91, 94, 117.
Chrisom, 87, 92-94.
Churching of Women, 2, 79, 96.
Clementine Liturgy. See Apostolic Constitutions.
Collects, 17, 28, 40, 41, 77, 78.
Commination, 110.
Commixture, 24, 32, 50, 51.
Confession, 28, 34, 47, 51, 63, 64, 102.
Confirmation, 2, 83, 84, 87, 88, 90, 91, 94, 95.
Convocation, 3, 6, 9, 13, 14, 39.
Cranmer, 4, 5, 8-10, 43, 44, 73, 75, 108-110.
Cross in Baptism, 13, 84-87, 89, 91-95.

DAILY OFFICE, Obligation of, 75, 76.
Dead, Prayers for the, 7, 39, 104-110, 122.
Declaration on Kneeling, 10, 11, 14, 38, 39, 130.
Diptychs, 22, 48.
Dirge, 106.
Double Feasts, 67.
Doxology after Lord's Prayer, 79.

EFFETA, 86, 89, 91.
Elevation, 23, 31, 50.
Embolismus, 23, 32, 48.
Epiklesis, 19, 23, 25, 26, 31, 32, 36, 38, 48, 122-125, 127.
Eucharist, Doctrine of the, 3, 7, 9, 37, 39, 129-131.
Extreme Unction, 2, 99-102.

FRACTION, 14, 18, 23, 32, 34, 39, 50, 51.

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS, 28, 33, 38, 87.
Gradual, 2, 29.

HOMILIES, 4, 15, 19-21, 29, 47.
Hours of Prayer, 53-58, 61-65.
Hymns, 1, 68, 71 79, 95.

INTROIT, 28, 37, 46, 47.
Invocation. See Epiklesis.
Invocation of Saints, 7, 43, 44.
Justin Martyr, 16, 19, 126.

KYRIE, 28, 33, 37, 42, 43, 47, 105.

LAVABO, 21, 46, 47.
Legenda, 2.
Litany, 2, 3, 21, 28, 41-45, 86, 113.
Liturgies, Families of, 24-27.

MANUAL, 1, 2.
Manual Acts, 14, 18, 23, 24, 31, 32, 34, 39, 50, 51.
Mass, 4, 5, 7, 17, 20, 21, 27, 30, 37.
Matrimony, 2, 96-99.
Memorials, 68.
Minor Orders, 111-116, 118.
Missal, 1, 2.
Mixed Chalice, 19, 122, 124, 126, 127.

NON-JURORS, 122, 124, 125.

OFFERTORY, 14, 19, 20, 22, 30, 33, 34, 37, 39, 46, 47, 122, 124.
Order of Communion, 4, 5, 34, 51, 125.
Orders, Validity of English, 119.
Ordinal, 2.
Ordinal (Ordination Service), 2, 8, 111-120.
Ornaments Rubric. See Vestments.
O Sapientia, 65.

PARKER'S ADVERTISEMENTS, 12.
Pax, 19, 21, 32, 46, 51.
Plain Song, 56, 58-60, 76.
Pliny's Letter to Trajan, 16, 18, 126.
Pontifical, 1, 2.
Porrectio Instrumentorum, 115, 117, 118.
Processional, 1, 3, 42, 43.
Prose, 29.
Prothesis, 22, 25, 46.
Puritans, 11-14.

QUIGNONEZ, 71-75.

RECUSANTS, 10.
Reservation of the Sacrament, 11, 29, 39, 103, 104, 127.
Respond, 60, 61, 65, 71.

SACRAMENTARIES, 2, 27, 40, 84, 98, 99, 105, 113-116.
Sacrifice, 7, 9, 16, 17, 37, 119, 130, 131.
Saints' Days, 65-72.
Sarapion, Prayers of, 119, 127.
Sequence, 2, 29.
Station Days, 16, 44, 53.
Sursum Corda, 19, 22, 30, 48, 49.

TRADITIO SYMBOLI, 85, 89, 91, 92.
Troper, Tropes, 2.

UNCTION, 82, 84, 86, 89, 91-95, 99-103, 115-118.

VENI CREATOR, 115-118, 120.
Vestments, 6, 11, 12, 38, 39, 77, 78, 119, 120.
Visitation of the Sick, 2, 99-104.


3 2044 020 648 754

DUE OCT 30 1924
MAR 3 1 1993
DUE 1927